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Eleventh Annual Report

OF THE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

FOR THE YEAR 1920

A Summary of Work and an Accounting

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

National Office: 70 Fifth Avenue, New York

January, 1921.

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J. E. Spingarn, Treasurer,
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FOREWORD

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People renders its eleventh annual report with a convincing and gratifying record of accomplishment, confident that its purposes are being made increasingly plain to the American people and by that token are coming closer and closer to realization. Increasingly the country is being made to realize that the issues which have long seemed to confront and concern the Negro only and to comprise a burden which he alone had to bear are national. The issue of lynching and race riots has been nationalized. The crime of peonage has been shown to be a national disgrace. The treatment of colored Americans by their white neighbors is emerging as one of the acid tests of the democracy under which presumably all men are to be given equal opportunity for self-development and for self-expression.

The Association's work has shown the international involvement of these questions. It was unquestionably the race prejudice which prevails in the United States that made possible the brutalities practiced by United States marines upon citizens of the Negro Republic of Haiti.

Although the Haitian exposé stands as perhaps the most dramatic achievement of the Association during the year, it was only an accompaniment of the fight along similar lines made in the United States. By appealing in the courts the cases of the men convicted of participation in the Arkansas peonage riots the Association made glaringly obvious to the people of this country that they could not afford to tolerate the railroading to death of Negro peons in that state. By launching a campaign to make the revived Ku Klux Klan declare its real purpose, the Association brought home the fact to white Americans as well as to colored Americans that secrecy, whatever the noble professions of those who practice it, can be made the cover for sinister and lawless acts. Another national scandal it brought sharply into focus during the presidential election was the open and unabashed disfranchisement of colored Americans in the southern states.

In every one of the demands made by the Association it has been shown by incontrovertible evidence that American professions

of democracy have varied from American practice; and all of these demands may be epitomized in a claim to nothing more or nothing less than equal opportunity and a fair chance for the American Negro. The Association proceeds on the reasonable assumption that the documents upon which the world's greatest experiment in human freedom is based are to be taken literally and exactly at their face value. It invites the cooperation of every American, white and black, in helping to make them literally and exactly true in their application to the America of today. It is with the intention of realizing the democracy that is preached as completely as possible in the democracy that is practiced that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has striven in 1920 and will continue to work in 1921, and it is with renewed courage and hope that it turns to another year of work in the cause to which it is consecrated.

I

THE HAITIAN INVESTIGATION

The outstanding achievement in 1920 was the investigation of conditions in the republic of Haiti, the giving of nation-wide publicity to the unlawful seizure of that country by the American government, and to the exploitation and abuse of its people under American military occupation.

In March the Board of Directors voted that Mr. James Weldon Johnson, who at that time was Field Secretary, be sent to Haiti to make an investigation of reports of brutalities and atrocities which for many months had been coming up out of Haiti and to secure information regarding conditions there under the American Occupation. Mr. Johnson spent six weeks in Haiti making a careful study of political, economic and social conditions. On his return to the United States he published a series of four articles in *The Nation.* He also published single articles in *The Crisis, The Christian Herald,* and other publications. On August 9 Mr. Johnson made a special trip to Marion, Ohio, and talked with Senator Warren G. Harding, at that time Republican candidate for President. He placed the information he had gained in the hands of Mr. Harding and later sent him the full text of the *Nation* articles. In several of his campaign speeches Mr. Harding attacked the Wilson administration for the imperialistic policy which it had pursued in Haiti. In this way the Haitian question became an important issue in the presidential campaign. Attempts to refute Mr. Harding's statements were made by the Secretary of State, the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and by various officers of the Marine Corps.

The specific charges made by Mr. Johnson, briefly summarized, were:

(1) That Haitian autonomy was overthrown by force and threat of force through the instrumentality of the Marine Corps;

(2) That more than 3,000 Haitians had been killed without cause by the Marines during the five years of the American Occupation;

(3) That Haitian men and women had been tortured; the obsolete corveé having been revived and extended to the point of peonage and slavery

to secure workmen to build roads and to do other work for the American forces;

(4) That the salaries of the President of Haiti and other high officials of the Haitian Government had been held up by John M. McIlhenny, American Financial Adviser to Haiti, because the Haitian Government would not sign a contract giving the National City Bank of New York an exclusive monopoly upon the right of importing and exporting American and other foreign money to and from Haiti.

(5) That a rigid censorship instituted by the American forces prevented any communication by Haiti with the outside world telling of the conduct of the American Marines and conditions under the American Occupation.

(6) That the American Government had failed to redeem any of its promises to aid in developing Haiti financially, educationally or otherwise.

As a result of Mr. Johnson's charges, Secretary Daniels ordered the Commandant of the Marines to make a report on the matter, and Mr. McIlhenny was summoned to Washington for the same purpose. General Lejeune, the Commandant of Marines, within a few days made a report which was a complete whitewash of the actions of the marines in Haiti. At this juncture, a statement was made by Brigadier General George Barnett who had for a long time commanded the Marine Corps in Haiti, which more than corroborated the charges made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that more than 3,000 Haitians had been killed. In fact, General Barnett placed the number at 3,250, and stated that he had been inexpressibly shocked at the "indiscriminate killings" of Haitians by the marines. When General Barnett's charges were first published Secretary of the Navy Daniels attempted to discredit them. Senator Harding then was urged by the Association to reiterate the charges. He immediately called upon Secretary Daniels for the publication of all information in the possession of the Navy Department relating to its administration of the Haitian Republic. On the day following Mr. Harding's demand Secretary Daniels announced the appointment of a Naval Board of Inquiry to hold hearings in Washington and in Haiti for a complete investigation of the activities of the marines in Haiti.

Mr. Johnson thereupon issued a statement to the press of the country, which was widely published, in which he declared that the appointment of such a board was certain to be productive of no results other than a whitewashing of the Marine Corps. He pointed out that no other results could be expected when Secretary Daniels appointed naval officers to investigate another branch of the Navy.

The correctness of his statement was shown at the conclusion of the hearings. A number of sessions were held in Washington at which appeared Brigadier General Barnett, who modified somewhat his original charges; Admiral Knapp, who was in command of the marine forces in Haiti; John J. McIlhenny and other interested witnesses. The Naval Board of Inquiry thereupon left for Haiti where other hearings were held. All of the sessions were farcical, for in Haiti not only were Haitians having direct evidence to offer barred from the hearings but threats of prosecution for perjury were used in intimidating witnesses that they might be prevented from telling the whole truth. Among those testifying was President Dartiguenave. As was expected by all persons familiar with the facts, the Court of Inquiry absolved the marines.

In the 66th Congress a resolution was introduced in the Senate by Hiram Johnson of California and one in the House by Representative Bland of Indiana, calling for a complete Congressional investigation of all American military and civil acts in Haiti. Both these resolutions were referred to committees in the two Houses of Congress but neither of them was acted upon before adjournment.

At the regular meeting of the National Board of Directors of the N. A. A. C. P. in November, 1920, it was voted that the Secretary return to Haiti to organize Haitian sentiment and to arrange for a delegation of Haitians to come to the United States and work for the restoration of Haitian sovereignty. It was felt that such a step was absolutely necessary if the evils of American occupation were to be corrected. The Secretary was considered the person for that task, because he had made the investigation.

But on account of the great amount of work to be done in the United States and the cost of another trip to Haiti the Secretary decided to attempt to accomplish this delicate task through correspondence with the leading men he had met while in Haiti. In this attempt he was successful. A number of letters were sent pointing out the urgent need for the formation of a unified body in Haiti which would speak for the Haitian people, and which could not only wage an active campaign for the restoration of Haitian independence and the ending of the American military occupation, but could answer the great mass of counter-propaganda, derogatory to the Haitian people, being spread throughout America and the world to justify American interference in Haitian affairs.

As a result, in November *L'Union Patriotique d'Haiti* (The

Patriotic Union of Haiti) was formed. From the *Bulletin Mensuel* of *L'Union Patriotique* we quote:

> "On November 17, 1920,* in accord with the cherished wish of Mr. James Weldon Johnson, the devoted Secretary-General of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, eighteen Haitian citizens, at the call of M. Georges Sylvain, former minister plenipotentiary of Haiti to Paris, met at Port-au-Prince in his law office, and decided to form an association having as its prime object the working in accord with the defenders of the Haitian cause in the United States for the abolishment of all restrictions placed upon the full exercise of sovereignty and independence on the part of the Haitian government."

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* Through efforts put forth since that date, the Patriotic Union of Haiti has become a national organization, with branches in most of the cities and towns of the Haitian Republic. It has sent a commission to the United States composed of M. H. Pauleus Sannon, Ex-Haitian Minister to the United States; M. Stenio Vincent, Ex-Minister of the Interior of Haiti and President of the Haitian Senate at the time that it was dismissed at the point of a pistol in the hands of a United States Marine officer; and M. Perceval Thoby. Most important among the plans of this commission is the drafting of a memorial to be submitted to the President and to Congress and to be placed before the American public.

II

LEGAL DEFENSE

The year 1920 was one of unusual effort in the realm of legal defense.

Much of the time of one of the executives is given to the task of deciding, in conjunction with the Legal Committee, which of the many cases that come to the National Office from the branches and individuals should be undertaken. Two considerations enter into such decisions. First, is the case one in which race prejudice has undoubtedly prevented a colored person from receiving justice? Second, will active participation by the N. A. A. C. P. and the gaining of a favorable decision establish a principle or precedent in that community which will raise or strengthen the civil status of the colored people? As an example, the decision in the Louisville Segregation Case settled the right of colored American citizens to purchase property and to hold and use it in any part of the United States.

Some individuals seem to be of the opinion that each time a colored person becomes involved in a legal difficulty, the N. A. A. C. P. should come to his rescue, regardless of the circumstances of the case. That, of course, is not the purpose of the organization, nor would it be possible, on account of the vast amount of money it would require. But even after the two considerations above have been taken into account, there are many cases of undoubted merit which the Association is unable to handle because of lack of funds. Scores of worthy cases are presented each year and our assistance asked. To most of these appeals we must answer, "We regret that we cannot undertake this case because we have not funds available." There is urgent need of a defense fund of not less than $50,000 to be used in legal defense.

However, in spite of limited resources, the N. A. A. C. P. handled during 1920 a number of cases of national significance. Many other cases of a local character were referred to the branches in the vicinity and were handled by them. In each of these latter cases there was an understanding that the National Office would cooperate as much as possible when necessary. In some of the cases where

the matter affected the entire state or surrounding states and the case was too large to be handled by a single branch, as in the defense of the colored men arrested in connection with the Duluth, Minnesota, lynchings, all the branches in the state and surrounding states were asked to cooperate in handling the case.

The Arkansas Cases

Of all the legal cases handled, the most important as well as the most difficult was the defense of the twelve men sentenced to death and the sixty-seven sentenced to prison terms in connection with the alleged "massacre" of October ,1919, in Phillips County, Arkansas. It will be remembered that colored men were accused of forming an organization to massacre the white planters of the county and to seize the land. It will also be remembered that investigation by the N. A. A. C. P. showed that the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America was formed by colored share-croppers and tenant farmers to secure settlements from white landlords through the courts, these landlords having robbed colored farmers each year through the practice of peonage. Since October, 1919, the legal department of the Association has devoted a large part of its time to these cases, its most important work during the year.

That the reader may gain an idea of the successive steps taken in these cases, we digest the following from the Tenth Annual Report

> Since the trials and convictions, eminent Arkansas counsel have been secured for the convicted men and efforts begun to set aside the verdicts of the Phillips County juries and to secure new trials. The Arkansas Supreme Court has granted appeals in the cases of the twelve men condemned to death. Among the allegations made by counsel in asking for new trials are the following: Counsel appointed by the court to defend the men on trial did not consult with their clients before or during the trial, put no witnesses on the stand in behalf of the defense, did not address the jury in behalf of the clients, did not apply for a change of venue although the excitement was very high and ill-feeling against the defendants intense. Further, no Negro was summoned for jury duty despite the fact that Negroes in the county outnumbered the whites by a ratio of more than four to one. Torture was used to compel the men, while in prison and without counsel, to testify in accordance with the desires of the authorities and their prosecutors.

On March 29, 1920, the Supreme Court of the State of Arkansas reversed the verdict of death of the Phillips County Circuit Court

in the cases of Ed Ware, Albert Giles, Joe Fox, Alf Banks, Jr., Will Wordlow and John Martin on the ground that the jury in sentencing these men had rendered its verdict improperly. The cases were remanded to the Phillips County Court for retrial.

At the same time that this decision was rendered, the State Supreme Court affirmed the verdict of death in the cases of Frank Hicks, Frank Moore, Ed Hicks, J. E. Knox, Ed Coleman and Paul Hall.

On being retried in the Phillips County Court, the first six men were re-sentenced to death. Their cases were then re-appealed to the State Supreme Court, where the lower court was again reversed on December 6, 1920, on the ground that Negroes had been excluded from juries in Phillips County in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The cases were again remanded to the Phillips County Court for retrial.

Especial attention is called to the unethical and unjust action of Charles H. Brough, at the time of the hearing before the State Supreme Court governor of Arkansas, who, in an effort to influence the Supreme Court in its decision, issued a lengthy statement to the press giving his reasons for believing that the men were guilty and deserved to be executed. This action, due to pressure brought to bear on Governor Brough from Phillips County, was so manifestly unfair that even Arkansas newspapers condemned it editorially.

In the meantime, the cases of the six men whose sentences of death were affirmed by the State Supreme Court were held in abeyance pending the outcome of the trials of the remaining six cases. An effort was made to carry these cases for review directly to the United States Supreme Court on a writ of *certiorari*. This effort was unsuccessful.

On the same day that the United States Supreme Court refused to review the evidence in these cases, Colonel George W. Murphy, our chief counsel in Arkansas, died after a short illness. This was a tremendous blow, because his courageous and sincere efforts to have the Arkansas courts atone in some measure for the travesty on justice in the trials and conviction of these men, were of invaluable assistance. It will be difficult to find a man who can serve as well as the late Colonel Murphy but he laid the ground work for the defense before his death.

Great credit is also due to Mr. Scipio A. Jones, associated with Colonel Murphy in these cases. It has taken even more courage

for Mr. Jones to actively participate in these cases because of his race and the bitter feeling which yet exists in parts of Arkansas. Mr. Jones has served loyally and well and if these men are eventually freed, as now seems probable, he will have earned the commendation of all persons who desire to see justice done in these cases.

It is felt that the execution of the six men in whose cases the higher court refused to act, will be held up pending final decision in the retrial of Ed Ware, *et al.* It is impossible to tell how far the cases will eventually go. The decision of December 6, a second time reversing the verdict of death on the ground that Negroes had been excluded from juries in Phillips County, is the most important victory thus far, in that the reversal was upon constitutional grounds. It is hoped that eventually the cases can be carried into the Federal courts. The order of procedure in the Federal courts will be, first, to the Federal Court of the Eastern District of Arkansas; second, to the Appellate Division of the Federal Court; and finally, to the United States Supreme Court. All of the testimony and evidence which have been secured since October, 1919, point conclusively to the fact that the men were not guilty of the crime charged and that they are imprisoned today because of race prejudice in the state of Arkansas. The fight to free these men is not solely one affecting 79 individuals, but it is a fight to determine whether or not men shall be sent to death because they are colored. Another important determining factor is that this case may be the entering wedge in the struggle to end economic exploitation of colored men and women under the share-cropping system, which is so widespread in the southern states.

To date December 31, 1920, the Association has expended $8,489.39 and is obligated to pay its lawyers in Arkansas an additional $5,000 within a very short time. If the cases are eventually carried to the United States Supreme Court, the cost will go considerably higher. An urgent appeal is made to every member of the Association to contribute as much as possible to aid in the great task of saving these men.

The Robert L. Hill Extradition Case

On January 22, an Associated Press dispatch was received at the National Office stating that Robert L. Hill, head of the Progressive

Farmers and Household Union of America, had been arrested in Topeka, Kansas, and that Attorney-General Arbuckle of Arkansas and a Deputy Sheriff had been sent to Topeka by Governor Brough to ask for his extradition. Prompt action had to be taken. The National Office got in touch over long-distance telephone with Senator Arthur Capper, a member of the National Board of Directors and former president, while he was governor of Kansas, of the Topeka Branch of the Association. Mr. Capper, who was familiar with the facts in the case, immediately wired Governor Allen of Kansas asking him not to grant the extradition of Hill until the Association was able to present the facts secured in the investigation made by the Association at the time of the disturbance. He also wired Hugh T. Fisher, County Attorney of Shawnee County, Kansas, asking him to act as chief counsel for Hill.

Here we have an illustration of the value of influential white members to the organization and of the uniquely effective work that can be done by them. Through Senator Capper's activity Governor Allen and Mr. Fisher became interested and acted promptly. Had this not been done there was only slight chance that Hill would have escaped being returned to Arkansas, and it is more than probable that had he been returned at that time he would have been lynched. Thus the aid of two white members of the Association meant the saving of the life of this colored man.

On January 27, the hearing on the extradition proceedings was held before Governor Allen. In spite of the protest of Attorney-General Arbuckle, a continuance was granted to permit the securing of sworn testimony showing that Hill was not the leader of the insurrection. This evidence was secured. At the same time letters were sent to all of the branches asking them to secure the sending of as many telegrams, letters and petitions to Governor Allen as possible, urging him to refuse extradition. Meanwhile, Mr. Johnson, Field Secretary, saw Governor Allen in Chicago and talked with him regarding the case.

Finally, on March 23, after several hearings and the presentation of much evidence, Governor Allen decided, first, that Hill was not guilty of the crime charged and, second, that if Hill was returned to Arkansas, beyond any reasonable doubt his life would not be safe. He thereupon refused extradition. Governor Allen deserves appreciation, for he took this step in the face of bitter and vicious criticism from southern newspapers.

The state of Arkansas then attempted to secure Hill's extradition through the state courts of Kansas. Upon this proving unsuccessful they attempted to use the Federal courts in order to get Hill back within the jurisdiction of the Arkansas state courts. The first charge against Hill was that he had "impersonated a Federal officer." Finding that they would not be able to substantiate such a charge, the Arkansas authorities shifted ground to a new charge of "conspiring with one V. E. Powell to impersonate a Federal officer." Judge Pollock of the Federal Court of Kansas set April 8 for a hearing on the Federal indictment.

In the meantime, Mr. White, Assistant Secretary, was sent to Washington where he held a conference with Assistant Attorney-General William C. Herron. Mr. White presented evidence showing, first, that the State of Arkansas was attempting to use the Federal courts solely to get Hill back within the jurisdiction of the state courts and second, that since U. S. Bratton, an attorney of Little Rock, who had prosecuted a number of white planters who had robbed Negro share-croppers, had been driven from the state under threats of death, it was far more dangerous for Hill, a colored man, to be carried back to that state. As a result of this interview, the Department of Justice at Washington ordered the United States Attorney at Little Rock to forward to Washington all evidence of alleged violation of Federal statutes in the Hill case for examination.

Later, when the hearing was held before Judge Pollock, a provisional extradition writ was granted to the State of Arkansas by Judge Pollock providing that Hill should be carried back to that state to be tried upon the Federal charge in the Federal courts. It was stipulated, however, that if Hill was not convicted he was to be returned safely by the Arkansas authorities to the Federal Court in Kansas. The Arkansas officials declined to accept these conditions, thereby confirming the contentions of the Association in opposing extradition; namely, that Hill was not guilty of the charges made and that his life would not be safe in Arkansas. Judge Pollock then released Hill under $2,000 bond for a hearing at the October Term of Court at Leavenworth, Kansas.

On October 2, Mr. White again went to Washington for a conference with Mr. Herron and with Mr. Norris of the Department of Justice. The Department had given the United States Attorney at Little Rock opportunity to save his face by allowing him to

voluntarily dismiss the two charges against Hill. This, however, in spite of the fact that he undoubtedly knew that there was no real evidence against Hill, he refused to do. On October 8, the following telegram was received at the National Office from Mr. Scipio A. Jones, who was assisting in the case in Arkansas:

> "Both cases in the Federal Court against Hill have been dismissed by order of the Attorney-General."

Thus ended one of the most dramatic legal fights the Association has ever undertaken and one which will undoubtedly have a far-reaching effect. Special credit is due Mr. Fisher, who, regardless of his large law practice and his official duties as County Attorney, fought unceasingly for Hill's release and not only refused to accept a fee. but would not even allow the National Office to reimburse him for personal expenditures made in connection with the case.

Much credit is also due Messrs. James H. Guy, Elisha Scott and A. M. Thomas, colored attorneys of Topeka, who loyally supported and aided Mr. Fisher, and to Messrs. Scipio A. Jones and John A. Hibbler of Little Rock, Arkansas.

The Caldwell Case

It will be remembered that the National Office, the Alabama branches, ably led by the Anniston-Hobson City Branch, and the Legal Committee of the District of Columbia Branch fought throughout the year 1919 to prevent the execution of Sergeant Edgar C. Caldwell, who was accused of killing a street-car conductor and wounding the motorman at Anniston, Alabama, in 1918. Although he was a United States soldier at the time and entitled to trial by court martial, and although the evidence clearly showed that he had fired in self-defense when set upon by the street-car employees, Caldwell was tried, convicted and sentenced to death in the state courts of Alabama. Counsel for Caldwell employed by the N. A. A. C. P. fought the case through all of the state courts of Alabama. Then it was carried to the United States Supreme Court where Caldwell's case was argued by Henry E. Davis, former United States Attorney for the District of Columbia; James A. Cobb, attorney for the Washington Branch; and Charles E. Kline of Alabama. The State of Alabama was represented by its Attorney-General and two associates.

After argument before the United States Supreme Court on March 4, and April 19, that court affirmed the death sentence of the Alabama courts by denying that the state courts were without jurisdiction in trying Caldwell, a soldier. This was done in spite of the fact that counsel for Caldwell cited a Kentucky precedent which was identical with the facts in Caldwell's case and which had been overlooked by the Adjutant-General, wherein a white soldier had been taken from the jurisdiction of the state courts of Kentucky under similar circumstances.

After the death sentence had been thus affirmed by the court of last resort, ineffective appeals were made to the Governor of Alabama for clemency. Caldwell was executed at Anniston, Alabama, by hanging, on July 30, 1920.

Though the Caldwell case was lost, it is felt that much was gained in the creation of public sentiment by the hard fight made to save his life.

The Maurice Mays Case

A case of considerable importance, which the National Office found itself unable to handle from headquarters is that of Maurice Mays, a young colored man, who in August, 1919, was arrested in Knoxville, Tenn., charged with the murder of a white woman. The trial resulted in a verdict of murder in the first degree. The general opinion among both white and colored in Knoxville was that Mays was not guilty. Being confident of the young man's innocence, the Knoxville Branch undertook to have the case investigated in an effort to save him from the chair. The investigation brought out evidence to show that at the time of the murder, Mays was at his own home asleep, more than a mile from the scene of the crime.

The National Office called upon the other Tennessee branches to cooperate with the Knoxville Branch. More than $600 was raised as a defense fund. In November, 1920, the Tennessee State Supreme Court remanded the case for a new trial on the ground that the punishment was named by the judge when it should have been named by the jury. This, of course, is a temporary victory for the Knoxville Branch.

A splendid fight has been made by the Knoxville Branch, aided loyally by other Tennessee branches, in this case. The setting aside of the verdict of the lower court by the Tennessee State Supreme Court automatically remanded Mays for retrial in the lower court.

The Duluth Cases

In the chapter on lynchings during 1920, we tell of the lynching of three colored men on June 16 at Duluth, Minnesota, following an accusation of criminal assault upon a young girl. Following the lynchings, thirteen colored men were arrested, indicted and placed on trial, accused of the same crime for which the other men had been lynched. Investigators were sent to the scene of the alleged assault. Their reports showed very grave doubts of the guilt of any of the men imprisoned and also tended to prove that the girl had not been assaulted. She had claimed that she and a young man with her had been seized and while a gun was held on her companion, six men had criminally assaulted her in succession. Although she claimed that she was an innocent girl, her testimony showed that after the alleged assault by six men, she was able to walk more than a half mile to a street car, on which she rode home. The car was crowded but it apparently never occurred to her to speak to any of her fellow passengers nor to her parents when she reached her home.

The Duluth Branch, formed after the lynchings, together with the St. Paul and Minneapolis Branches, raised a fund of $1,200, and Attorneys Barnett of Chicago, Scrutchins of Bemidji, Minn., and McCulloh of St. Paul were employed to defend the thirteen men. Later the National Office, which had been cooperating with the Minnesota branches from the beginning of the case, contributed to the defense fund and also sent an appeal to all of the branches in surrounding states to aid in the defense, to which appeal generous responses were made.

As a result, of the thirteen, one man was acquitted by a jury, five others were dismissed by order of the court for lack of evidence, six more were called into court and the cases against them dismissed by the request of the prosecuting attorney. The thirteenth man, Max Mason, was found guilty of rape and sentenced to not more than thirty years in prison. Mason's case was appealed and it is confidently expected that the result will be an acquittal.

As another result of the efforts of the N. A. A. C. P., twenty-one members of the mob were arrested and indicted on first degree murder charges. At the time that this report is written, final disposition has not been made of these cases.

The E. R. Franklin Case

In April, 1920, the Rev. E. R. Franklin of Tchula, Mississippi, a *Crisis* agent, was arrested on a train in Mississippi for having in his possession copies of *The Crisis* for sale. He was taken from the train by a mob which beat him severely. He escaped and fled to a nearby swamp, where, according to his story, he stood all night in water which reached to his waist although he was weak from the beating he had received. The next day he was arrested, tried and convicted of violating a recent law passed by the Mississippi State Legislature prohibiting the sale "of literature tending to disturb relations between the races." He was sentenced to serve six months on the chain-gang and was fined $400.

Through friends of the Association in Mississippi an attempt was made to secure a lawyer to defend Franklin. The lawyer secured, although a white man, was threatened with lynching when he offered bond for Franklin and the Justice of the Peace at the town declined the bond, although it had been properly certified to by the sheriff of the county. The lawyer was told that if Franklin were bailed out he would be lynched and that Franklin's only salvation lay in working out his sentence. A wire from the National Office to the governor brought the reply from Lieutenant-Governor Castell that "the mildness of Franklin's sentence was due only to his ignorance" and that if the editors of *The Crisis* would visit Mississippi "we would make an example of them that would be of lasting benefit to the colored people of the South that would not soon be forgotten."

Colored people of Jackson, Miss., in the meantime raised $2,500 to cover Franklin's bond. Another lawyer was secured (the first one employed having been frightened off the case), and Franklin was released and left for Chicago. He refused to return to Mississippi for trial for he felt that he was certain to be lynched.

Cases Handled by the Branches

In addition to the cases handled by the National Office, several important cases were handled independently by the branches. Of these, one of the most important was the fight made by the Detroit Branch to prevent the return of Thomas Ray to Wilkinson County, Georgia, where he was wanted on the charge of having killed a white man.

Ray killed a white man who had many times threatened his life. He was arrested in Detroit on September 5 on a warrant issued in Georgia. Messrs. Willis and Hinton of Detroit were attorneys for Ray and the Detroit Branch associated with them Mr. W. Hayes McKinney, attorney for the Branch. At the initial hearing before Governor Sleeper, attorneys for Ray stated that he would probably be lynched if he were taken back to Georgia. Governor Sleeper then wired Governor Dorsey of Georgia who assured the Michigan Governor that Ray would be protected and given a fair trial. Governor Sleeper thereupon granted the extradition. Immediately the attorneys for Ray applied for a writ of habeas corpus. At the hearing on October 13 before Judge Hunt at Detroit, the writ was granted. Ray was immediately rearrested on an indictment which had been forwarded from Georgia.

On October 20, a new hearing was held before Governor Sleeper at which time Assistant Secretary White told of conditions in Georgia, based upon personal investigation, showing that Georgia officials could not assure Ray safety and a fair trial The hearing was held at Lansing, Michigan, in the Governor's chambers. Attorneys for the defense also proved that there were defects in the indictment. Governor Sleeper reserved decision until the State of Georgia had opportunity to correct these flaws. Later Governor Sleeper again granted the writ of extradition but Ray's attorneys have thus far prevented his return.

The Detroit Branch did some splendid work in this case in securing a petition signed by more than 2,000 citizens asking Governor Sleeper not to grant the extradition and in raising more than $650 on a defense fund of $1,000 to be used in the Ray case and other local cases of legal defense.

Ray is still confined in the Wayne County jail at Detroit. His case is pending but it is strongly felt that he will eventually be released. The case has aroused a tremendous amount of interest both in Michigan and Georgia. Authorities in the latter state have been forced to realize that a long period of mob rule and disregard of law and order has created the impression, and a correct one, that a colored man in a southern state accused of any offense against a white man has little or no chance of securing a fair trial.

Other cases are told of in the chapter of the report on branch activities.

III

THE NEGRO VOTE

In February, 1920, the National Office sent to seventeen men whose names had been mentioned in the press as candidates for the presidential nomination a questionnaire asking their views on seven main issues which colored people regard as fundamental. The questionnaire asked whether they would:

1. Favor the enactment of federal laws against lynching.
2. Advocate Congressional enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment by reduction of representation of states which disfranchise their citizens, or advocate as an alternative the appointment of United States Commissioners to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment.
3. Bring about the abolition of Jim Crow Cars in interstate traffic.
4. Urge national aid to elementary education without discrimination against Negro children.
5. Favor the apportionment of Negro soldiers and officers in the army in proportion to their numbers in the population.
6. Abolish racial segregation in the Civil Service of the United States.
7. Withdraw armed or other interference with the independence of Haiti.

Fifteen of the seventeen candidates addressed failed to reply to the questionnaire. The two who replied were Senators Harding and Poindexter, the former stating that it was not consistent with his views to take up the categorical questions asked by the Association; that conventions are called upon to enunciate platforms and policies and that candidates are expected to stand on the platform thus made. Senator Poindexter stated that he was "in favor of maintaining the legal rights and opportunities of all our citizens, regardless of color or condition."

As 1920 was the year of the presidential election, the question of the Negro vote was an all-important one. The passage of the

Woman Suffrage Amendment gave the question additional weight. In all of the southern states, colored women experienced difficulty in their attempts to register, and in a large number of cases they were told plainly that colored women would not be registered. In order to keep colored women from registering, the most difficult tests such as have never been required by law, were given them. The National Office has in its files a copy of the following, which is a sworn affidavit made by a woman in *Newbern, N. C.:*

> ".....", being duly sworn on her oath, states that on Saturday, October 23, 1920, she appeared before....., Registrar of the Fourth Ward, Newbern, N. C., to register and that she was required to read and write the entire Constitution of North Carolina, that she did read all of it and started to write when he took the book and told her that because she belonged to the Negro race she could not register, adding that if she was the President of Yale and colored she could not register. . . ."

Similar experiences were had by colored women all over the South.

In *Florida* a colored man who was accused of instructing colored women in the use of the ballot was dragged from his bed at night, and carried out of town with a noose about his neck and threatened with lynching.

In *Hampton, Va.,* white teachers in the same institution with colored teachers were allowed to vote while registration privileges were denied the colored teachers.

In *Jacksonville, Fla.,* a parade of the Ku Klux Klan was held on the Saturday night preceding election, as a warning to Negroes to keep away from the polls.

On election day at Ocoee, Fla., as a result of an attempt to keep a colored man from voting (the claim being made that he had not paid his poll tax) a number of Negroes were lynched and more than twenty houses destroyed by fire.

The determination of the Democratic Party to leave no stone unturned in its effort to win in the presidential election, caused them in the State of *Ohio* to descend to Mississippi methods of politics. They issued several pamphlets in which the appeal was made specifically to race prejudice. One of these pamphlets stood out bolder than the others. It was headed, "A Timely Warning to the White Men and Women of Ohio." It attacked the Republican candidate on the ground of his friendliness to colored people. The first paragraph of the pamphlet read: "The men and women of

Ohio should take heed of the menace confronting them and their children in the candidacy of the former Mayor of Cleveland for Governor of Ohio on the Republican ticket." Under another heading, "The Threat of Negro Domination," the first paragraph read: "But yet another ominous cloud has arisen on the political horizon which should have the attention and consideration of all men and women before casting their ballots. *That cloud is the threat of Negro domination in Ohio.*"

The pamphlet which bore the imprint, "Issued by the Democratic State Executive Committee, Columbus, Ohio," ended with the following words:

"Prompt Action by Whites Necessary"

"Ohioans must remember that the time has come when we must handle this problem in somewhat the same way as the South is handling it, and in such a way bring greater contentment to both whites and Negroes. We should remember what history tells us of the dark days when Negroes controlled the government in the South, the enormous expenditures and debts incurred, the indignities heaped upon white women and children, the vicious attempt of the South Carolina Negro legislature to give every Negro forty acres of land and a mule.

"Men and women of Ohio! Rally to the ballot box and give such a verdict as will forever rid Ohio of this menace to yourselves and your children."

Congressman Tinkham's Bill

An important bill was introduced near the close of the 66th Congress by Representative George H. Tinkham of Massachusetts. The bill proposed an investigation by the Committee on the Census of the disfranchisement of Negroes in the southern states, with a view to enforcing the provisions of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Mr. Tinkham contended that a reapportionment should be made which would give the southern states membership in the House in proportion to the actual voting population and not in proportion to the entire population. Mr. Tinkham's measure was defeated in the House of Representatives.

Voters' Training Classes

Upon the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution granting the right of suffrage to all women in the United States, the Association realized that much necessary work must be done to

instruct the new voters in the fundamentals of civics, and to show them how to qualify, register and vote. It was felt that this work was especially necessary in the South since, not only would no effort be made by the white women's organizations to train colored women voters but also efforts would be made to prevent colored women from voting.

Therefore, in the September issue of the *Branch Bulletin* and in the succeeding issues of the *Bulletin* through November, together with *The Crisis* for October and November, detailed instructions were given for the formation of classes in political education by the various branches of the Association. We urged that these classes be arranged so that they would cover as large a proportion as possible of colored women voters, and men voters as well. In the November issue of *The Crisis*, was printed a facsimile of a ballot for general elections, with instructions on the correct method of marking it.

The results were encouraging. Branches in Alabama, Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, Virginia, West Virginia, New York and other states formed these classes and much necessary and valuable work was done through them.

In addition to instructions given in the *Branch Bulletin* and *The Crisis* the National Office secured sets of pamphlets issued by one of the National Women's Organizations, which aided materially in the task of instructing the new voters.

Through these classes, through the Branches that did not form similar classes, and through other sources the Association made a careful study of the elections of 1920, with particular emphasis on the matter of disfranchisement of colored voters. These facts were presented at the hearing before the House Committee on the Census in December.

The Association also compiled these facts together with other data secured on the elections, and published them in a pamphlet, "Disfranchisement of Colored Americans in the Elections of 1920." This pamphlet has been widely distributed throughout the United States and has aroused a great deal of comment.

The Census Committee Hearings

On December 29 and 30 ,1920, James Weldon Johnson, Walter F. White and William Pickens of the National Office together with James A. Cobb, Archibald H. Grimké and other representatives

of the District of Columnia Branch and George H. Murray, an attorney of Washingron, appeared before the Committee on the Census of the House of Representatives at a hearing on the House Reapportionment Billl.

The testimony presented by the Association showing the vicious tactics used in southern states to debar colored citizens from registering and voting, by intimidation, terrorization and chicane, aroused a storm of protest from the Southern members of the Committee. The representatives of the Association presented figures based on the 1920 census and the total number of voters in the various states of the country, proving the disfranchisement of colored voters; gave names, addresses and registration certificate numbers of 941 colored citizens of Jacksonville, Florida, who were deliberately prevented from voting on November 2; showed that the names of 3,000 additional persons who likewise were prevented from voting, were being secured; introduced as evidence photographs showing the long lines of colored citizens who stood before the polls on election day, but were not allowed to vote; told of the election riots in Orange County, Florida; and submitted much evidence of similar nature showing the methods used to disfranchise colored men and women as voters in southern states. Representatives of the Association directly charged the suppression of most of the colored vote in the South. They demanded, first, that a complete Congressional investigation of the elections of 1920 in southern states be made, and second, the franchise or a reduction of the representation of the South in the House of Representatives, where a Congressional investigation proved denial of the vote. Representatives Carlos Bee of Texas, W. W. Larsen of Georgia, and James B. Aswell of Louisiana, attempted to heckle and harass the witnesses. Their design was apparently to prevent as far as possible, the inclusion of testimony adverse to the white South in the records of the Committee. Their intentions finally became so apparent, that it was necessary for Chairman Isaac Siegel of New York to call them to order so that the hearing might continue. At the end of the hearing on the second day, a newspaper photographer appeared in the Committee room to take a photograph of the Committee and witnesses. Representative Aswell of Louisiana left the room with the statement that he "wasn't going to have his picture taken with a bunch of niggers." Representative Larsen of Georgia, according to the New York *Tribune* of December 31, informed Chairman Siegel that he did not intend leav-

ing the room, but would "raise hell" if a picture were made with the spectators on hand as a background.

In order to avoid a situation embarrassing to the Southern representatives, the Committee went into executive session, thus clearing the room, and then the group picture was taken.

Much interesting comment in Northern and Southern newspapers, white and colored, was caused by the appearance and testimony of the Association's representatives.

In an editorial James K. Vardaman, late of the United States Senate from the State of Mississippi, commented as follows on the tactics employed by Southern members of the Committee on the Census in attempting to browbeat witnesses:

> "The reports of the Congressional Committee which had under investigation the question of the Negroes voting in the South reveals a great deal of stupidity and downright assininity on the part of Southern representatives. The representatives from Georgia and Louisiana were very much incensed at the charges made by the Negroes around Washington that the Negroes of the South were not permitted to vote. Congress has very little to do to take time to listen to a saddle-colored, impudent Negro around Washington. But as a matter of fact, every white man in the South knows that the Negro is not permitted to enjoy freely all the rights intended to be vouchsafed to him by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. The Southern white people submitted to the Negro's voting until they saw the public domain squandered, the civilization builded by our forefathers destroyed and then they arose in the might of Anglo-Saxon superiority and drove the veneered savages from the polls.
>
> "In Mississippi we have in our constitution legislated against the racial peculiarities of the Negro and in that way we have practically eliminated them from politics. When that device fails, we will resort to something else. God Almighty never intended that the white man should share sovereignty and dominion with the Negro in this country, and the white people of Mississippi are not going to do it. And just why the little congressmen from Georgia and Louisiana should not tell the truth about the matter and endeavor to teach the Northern congressmen a little sense on the subject is accounted for only upon the theory that the little gentlemen from Georgia and Louisiana do not know any better themselves.
>
> "Now, they go before the committee and tell the committee and the world that the 'Negro is not denied his political rights in the South.' The Northern representatives conduct the investigation to the point where they convict the Southern representatives of lying and then stop."

The editorial from which the above excerpts are taken is headed:

"THIS IS A WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT
AND BY THE GODS IT SHALL REMAIN SO"

Equally frank was an editorial appearing in the Memphis, Tenn., *Commercial-Appeal* following the hearings, on which H. L. Mencken, famous critic and writer, commented as follows in the Baltimore, Md., *Evening Sun*:

> "From the learned Memphis *Commercial-Appeal* of January 22, I extract the following comment upon a recent hearing before the House Committee on the Census:
>
> "The public is aware that the notorious Society for the Advancement of Colored People appeared before the committee, and through its officials urged the reduction of Southern representation in Congress on the alleged ground of the practical disfranchisement of the Negro in the South. . . . The representatives of this organization who appeared before the committee were Negroes of ability who presented their case impressively and with becoming dignity. But the manner in which they were bullied by Southern Congressmen, members of the committee, presents a humiliating contrast. . . . . From this exhibition it seems quite clear that the South must improve the quality of its representation if it hopes to retain the respect of the nation. One cannot imagine Lamar, or George, or Isham G. Harris, or Garland playing the role that these men did."

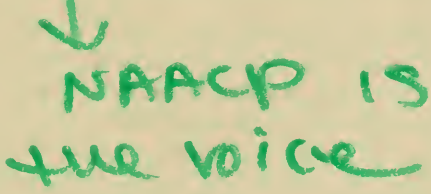
* * * * *

Mr. Mencken proceeds:

> "The eminent editor of the *Commercial-Appeal*, I regret to say, does not overstate the facts upon which he grounds his despair. I have examined at length the stenographic report of this hearing and find it very depressing indeed. On the one side there were two colored men, James Weldon Johnson and Walter F. White—polite, intelligent, calm, well-informed, dignified, self-respecting. On the other side were four Southern Congressmen, the Hon. M. M. Aswell, Larsen, Bee and Brinson—bullying, bulldozing, stupid, pettifogging, choleric, nonsensical. They cross-examined the witnesses exactly in the manner of eighth-rate lawyers in a police court—seeking to befog the issue, pressing idiotic points, setting up blathering contentions over words, making vast efforts to cover up their childishness with moral indignation. It was, in sober truth, a humiliating spectacle. One regrets that the whole report cannot be set before all the voters of the republic, that they may begin to understand what intolerable blockheads make their laws at Washington."

The net results of the hearings were the presentation of evidence to Congress and the inclusion of that material in the records on which the Association will fight the violation of the Federal Constitution in southern states until every colored man and woman is given the vote on the same basis as others. We appreciate the difficulty, and

duration of the fight we must wage, but we shall continue it. Political and economic freedom are two of the fundamentals which every Negro must possess before the so-called "Negro problem" is solved. A man without a voice in the management of public affairs will always be exploited, lynched, discriminated against and denied opportunity.



IV

LYNCHING

The number of lynchings of which the Association has record during the year 1920 is sixty-five. However, this figure does not include the victims of the election-day trouble at Ocoee, Fla. Though the press reported only six Negroes killed, the Assistant Secretary in his investigation of the affair heard white residents of the vicinity say that from thirty to fifty were killed. A summary of Mr. White's report on the Ocoee riots is given later on in this report.

Of the sixty-five victims mentioned above, eight were white men and one was a woman.

In 1919 there were 83 lynchings. Were it not for the Ocoee, Fla., incident on election day, it could be said, according to our records, that lynchings had decreased in number. But not only have they not decreased in number, but the brutality of the lynchings is still marked. Eight of the victims, besides those burned at Ocoee, Fla., met death by burning. One of these was a white man, at Billings, Mont., who resisted arrest. Another, because he threatened to kill a white man, was flogged to death by a mob of forty men.

The utter disregard of law by the mob is shown in one instance where the accused man was dragged out of the courtroom where he was being tried at a special term of court called for the purpose, and taken into the street. A rope was placed about his neck and he was dragged two blocks through the main street, then the rope was tied to the axle of an automobile which dragged him to a bridge, where the lifeless body was hung to a limb of a tree and riddled with bullets.

Particular attention is called to the lynching of three Negroes at Duluth, Minn., and the burnings at Ocoee, Fla.:

Duluth.—On June 16, the press of the country reported the lynching of three Negroes at Duluth, Minn., by a mob of 5,000 persons, who overpowered the police and firemen, took possession of police headquarters and seized these three men along with three others who were released after a mock trial had been held. All of these Negroes were under arrest in connection with an alleged attack upon a white girl.

The National Office immediately wired its St. Paul and Minneapolis branches asking that an investigation be made as to the facts in the case.

Governor J. A. Burnquist of Minnesota is President of the St. Paul Branch and a direct appeal for the apprehension and punishment of the lynchers was made to him as Governor of the State. Each of the Minnesota branches sent investigators to the scene of the lynching and full reports were made to the National Office. Among other things, one of the investigators was able to secure affidavits from thirteen other colored men who were being held on the same charge for which the three were lynched. This investigator reported that it was not certain that any of the men lynched or those under arrest were guilty of the crime charged, and that it was not even certain that the girl had been assaulted.*

Ocoee.—On November 2, election day, a colored man, July Perry, attempted to vote after he had been refused the privilege by election authorities on the ground that he had not paid his poll tax. It is said that Perry returned to the polls with a shotgun, accompanied by several other Negroes; whereupon the white citizens immediately formed a posse and, going to the Negro settlement, set fire to several buildings. According to press dispatches more than twenty buildings were burned and five Negroes, including one woman, perished in the flames. Perry was captured and later taken by the mob and lynched.

The Assistant Secretary was sent to Ocoee to investigate this affair. The following is a summary of his report:

1. That according to statements made by white residents, between thirty and fifty Negroes were killed in election rioting in and near the town of Ocoee, Florida, on November 2, the majority being cremated alive in the buildings that were burned.

2. That by flagrant violation of the terms of the United States Constitution and of local election laws, Negroes in Ocoee, Jacksonville and other Florida towns and cities were prevented from voting.

3. That intimidation by the Ku Klux Klan and other agencies apparently beyond the control of the State of Florida was systematically and persistently practiced against colored people for weeks preceding the election, and especially on the Saturday night immediately preceding.

4. That the election rioting about Ocoee resulted not only in the burning of eighteen houses of Negroes, but also in the destruction of a school, a church and a lodge hall.

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*See "Duluth Cases" under LEGAL DEFENSE.

5. That less than a week after election, citizens of Ocoee publicly boasted of a number of colored people killed in the riots, one white man boasting of seventeen victims.

The above information was sent to Attorney-General Palmer with the statement that sufficient evidence of violence, fraud and illegality to disqualify the entire vote of the State of Florida was available for the Department of Justice. At the same time the Association offered to the Department cooperation in an immediate investigation of the atrocities at Ocoee and the terrorization of colored voters by the Ku Klux Klan in Florida and other states.

A reply was received from the Department of Justice stating that it would be glad to receive any further information the Association had to give but suggesting that the facts be first submitted to our legal adviser in order to determine whether or not the cases presented constitute a violation of rights secured to Negroes under the Federal Constitution or laws as distinguished from the constitutions and laws of the several states involved.

Lynching Record for 1920

Name	Date	Place	Manner of Lynching
1. Jack Waters	Jan. 15	Florala, Ala.	Hanged
2. Cornelius Alexander	Mar. 4	Pike City, Ga.	———
3. Wilbur Smith	Mar. 11	Le Grande, Ala.	Shot
4. Grant Smith	Mar. 29	Millersburg, Ky.	Hanged
5. George Robertson	April 1	Laurens, S. Car.	Hanged
6. Albert Evans	April 19	Mulberry, Kan.	Hangd
7. Charles Arline	May 8	Woodville, Tex.	Flogged to death
8. M. Scott	May 9	Lakeland, Fla.	Shot
9. Elias Clayton	June 15	Duluth, Minn.	Hanged
10. Isaac Magee	June 15	Duluth, Minn.	Hanged
11. Elmer Jackson	June 15	Duluth, Minn.	Hanged
12. Philip Gaithers	June 21	Rinco, Ga.	Shot
13. Washington Giles	June 30	Damon Mound, Tex.	Shot
14. Ezra Giles	June 30	Damon Mound, Tex.	Shot
15. Jodie Gordon	June 30	Damon Mound, Tex.	Hanged
16. Elijah Anderson	June 30	Damon Mound, Tex.	Hanged
17. James Spencer	July 5	Enterprise, Miss.	Hanged
18. Herman Arthur	July 6	Paris, Tex.	Burned
19. Irving Arthur	July 6	Paris, Tex.	Burned
20. Ed Roach	July 7	Roxboro, N. Car.	Hanged

Name	Date	Place	Manner of Lynching
21. Fred Canafex	July 7	Centreville, Mo.	Shot
22. Milton Harris	July 13	(Steamer) Duluth–Toledo.	Drowned
23. William Bennett (wh.)	July 25	Fayetteville, W. Va.	Hanged
24. Sills Spinks	July 29	Dothan, Ala.	Shot
25. J. Jennings	July 29	Dothan, Ala.	Shot
26. Lije Daniels	Aug. 2	Center, Tex.	Hanged
27. John Jeffress	Aug. 26	Graham, N. C.	Shot
28. Leslie Allen	Aug. 27	Virgiliana, Va.	Shot
29. Tom Owens (wh.)	Aug. 28	Tulsa, Okla.	Hanged
30. Claude Chandler	Aug. 29	Oklahoma City	Hanged
31. Blutcher Higgins	Aug. 28	Corinth, Miss.	Hanged
32. Dan Callicut	Aug. 28	Corinth, Miss.	Hanged
33. Alto Windham (wh.)	Sept. 13	Hartford, Ala.	Hanged
34. Will Echols	Sept. 13	Quitman, Miss.	Shot
35. Oscar Beasley	Sept. 16	Angleton, Tex.	Hanged
36. Ray Field	Oct. 4	McClenny, Fla.	———
37. Ben Givens	Oct. 4	McClenny, Fla.	———
38. Sam Duncan	Oct. 4	McClenny, Fla.	———
39. Milton Smith	Oct. 4	McClenny, Fla.	———
40. Select Reid	Oct. 14	Greenville, Ala.	Shot
41. July Perry	Nov. 2	Ocoee, Fla.	Hanged
(Five Negroes, according to press reports—30 to 50 according to statements of local white citizens—were burned as a result of a fight which started at the polls with July Perry, the houses in which they had congregated having been fired.)			
47.	Nov. 6	Leon County, Fla.	Drowned
48. Ben Jacobs	Nov. 10	Tylertown, Miss.	
49. Dave Hunt	Nov. 14	Kent Junction, Tenn.	Hanged
50. Alex Byrd	Nov. 18	Douglas, Ga.	Shot
51. Willie Ivory	Nov. 18	Douglas, Ga.	Shot
52. Minnie Ivory	Nov. 18	Douglas, Ga.	Shot
53. Harry Jacobs	Nov. 23	Tylertown, Miss.	Hanged
54. Curley McKelvey	Nov. 24	DeWitt, Ga.	Hanged
55. J. B. Harris	Nov. 29	Princeton, Fla.	Hanged
56. ———	Nov. 30	Thomasville, Ga.	———
57. ———	Dec. 5	Holdenville, Okla.	Hanged
58. E. F. Lampson (wh.)	Dec. 8	Billings, Mont.	Burned
59. George Boyd (wh.)	Dec. 10	Santa Rosa, Cal.	Hanged
60. Terence Fitts (wh.)	Dec. 10	Santa Rosa, Cal.	Hanged
61. Charles Valento (wh.)	Dec. 10	Santa Rosa, Cal.	Hanged
62. ———	Dec.	Doerun, Ga.	———
63. Thomas W. Vickery (wh.)	Dec. 23	Fort Worth, Texas	Hanged
64. Coleman Brown	Dec. 23	Purvis, Miss.	Hanged
65. Wade Thomas	Dec. 26	Jonesboro, Ark.	Hanged

Chronological List

Jan. 15—*Florala, Ala.:*
Jack Waters, lynched after an alleged attack on a white woman. His body was found hanging to a telephone pole riddled with bullets.

Mar. 4—*Pike City, Ga.:*
Cornelius Alexander, lynched for jumping labor contract.

11—*Legrande (Montgomery Co.), Ala.:*
Wilbur Smith, charged with attacking a six-year-old white girl, taken to woods by six masked men and shot to death. Smith had been arrested by a citizen who was taking him to jail and was taken from his custody.

29—*Millersburg, Ky.:*
Grant Smith, accused of attack on white girl; extradited from Pontiac, Mich.; taken from sheriff and chief of police while on the way to jail.

April 1—*Laurens, S. C.:*
George Robertson, charged with having cut three white boys with a knife, was taken from the city jail and hanged to a railroad bridge, on the outskirts of the city.

19—*Mulberry, Kansas:*
A mob, estimated to have numbered 1,000 persons, surrounded the jail at Mulberry, near Pittsburgh, Kan., seized an unknown Negro, identified as having attacked a white girl, and hanged him to a telegraph pole.
The mob made no attempt to molest a white youth who, with the Negro, was captured by a posse.

May 8—*Woodville (Tyler Co.), Texas:*
A mob of 40 masked men took Charles Arline from officers and flogged him to death. Arline was arrested on the charge of threatening to kill a white man.

9—*Lakeland, Fla.:*
An unidentified Negro porter on an Atlantic Coast Line Train, who was charged by a white woman passenger with having insulted her, was taken from the train by a mob; an officer was sent back from Bartow, Fla., to get the Negro. He was overtaken by three automobiles, the Negro taken from him and shot to death.

June 15—*Duluth, Minn.:*
Three Negroes taken from jail and lynched; were being held in connection with an attack on a white girl. Six Negroes were seized by the mob but three were released. Mob estimated at 5,000.

21—*Rinco (Effingham Co.), Ga.:*
Philip Gaithers, said to have confessed to the murder of a white girl, shot to death. Preparations had been made for burning, but he broke the chain by which he was fastened to a tree.

June 30—*Houston, Texas:*
Washington Giles, his brother, and two other Negroes, were lynched near Houston. The two former were shot and the two latter hanged. The Giles brothers were accused of the murder of Sheriff S. M. McCormick of Wharton, Texas, and the other two Negroes of having aided them to escape.

July 5—*Enterprise, Miss.:*
James Spencer, a Negro postal clerk, who seriously stabbed Otho Parker, a white postal clerk, on a New Orleans and Northeastern mail car on July 2, was taken from officers who were taking him to Quitman for trial and lynched.

6—*Paris, Texas:*
Irving and Herman Arthur, 19 and 28 years, charged with having shot and killed their landlord, U. H. Hodges, and his son, William Hodges, were burned at stake by a mob. A dispatch from Idabel, Okla., says that Sheriff C. D. Clarkson of Paris declared that one of the two Negroes burned was not the right one and that he doubted whether the other was the right party. He is reported to have gone into Arkansas in search of the two Negroes who killed the farmer and his son.

7—*Roxboro, N. C.:*
Ed Roach, taken from the county jail by a mob of more than 200 masked men a few hours after he had been arrested on a charge of attacking a 13-year-old white girl, was lynched in a churchyard three miles from the jail. A chain was used instead of a rope. His body was riddled with bullets. Sheriff N. F. Thompson pleaded with the mob to let the law take its course. He was given three minutes to leave the churchyard. He left.

7—*Centreville, Mo.:*
Fred. Canafex, an escaped Negro convict, was shot to death by a mob of whites near here. Canafex was alleged to have attacked the daughter of Frank Simmons, a farmer, on July 6.

13—(*On steamer plying between Duluth, Minn., and Toledo, Ohio*):
Milton Harris, Negro chef, drowned by deckhands; accused of attack on white boy.

25—*Fayetteville, W. Va.:*
William Bennett, white, taken from jail by mob of one hundred and lynched after having begun life sentence for the murder of his wife. Jailer was summoned to the sheriff's office by the mob who demanded his keys.

29—*Dothan, Ala.:*
Two Negroes, Sills Spinks and J. Jennings, shot to death, for alleged murderous assault on white woman.

Aug. 2—*Center, Texas:*
Lije Daniels, hanged, after mob of more than 1,000 had battered down doors of county jail. Daniels was charged with murder of a white woman.

Aug. 26—*Graham, N. C.:*
John Jeffress, accused of attempting an attack on a 4-year-old white girl, was shot to death near Graham by a mob of about 50 men. The mob overpowered Sheriff Story and six deputies as they were transferring the Negro from the county jail to the courthouse for a preliminary hearing. Jeffress was taken by the mob about a mile and a half outside of Graham and his body riddled with bullets.

27—*Virgiliana, Va.:*
Leslie Allen, was shot and killed in the home of a Negro, near Virgiliana, by a posse of Halifax County citizens, following charges that Allen had insulted two small white girls at Buffalo Springs, Va.

28—*Tulsa, Okla.:*
Tom Owens, white, was taken from the Tulsa County Jail, by a mob of about 500 men, carried to the outskirts of the city, and hanged to a tree. His body was riddled with bullets. Owens was the confessed murderer of Homer Nida, taxicab driver.

28—*Corinth, Miss.:*
One hundred masked men overpowered the jailer at Corinth, Miss., and lynched two Negroes charged with assaulting a chain-gang guard. The mob took the jailer's keys, dragged the Negroes into the country, and hanged them to a telephone pole.

29—*Oklahoma City, Okla.:*
Claude Chandler, taken from jail by a group of masked men and hanged from a tree near Council Grove, 8 miles from Oklahoma City. Chandler was arrested Aug. 28 in a raid upon an alleged moonshine still near Arcadia, Okla., in which Stanton Weiss, federal prohibition officer, Deputy Sheriff Homer Andrean, and Charles Chandler, father of the lynched Negro, were killed.

Sept. 13—*Hartford, Ala.:*
Alto Windham, white, hanged, because of remarks he is alleged to have made to a white woman.

13—*Quitman, Miss.:*
Will Echols, recently convicted of the murder of Henry Davis, an aged watchman at a lumber plant, was taken from jail at Quitman by a small party of men, carried two miles into the country, and shot to death. Echols was sentenced to be hanged on September 10, but execution was stayed at the last moment through an appeal to the Mississippi Supreme Court.

16—*Angleton, Texas:*
Oscar Beasley, Negro murderer, who had already been indicted by the grand jury, was lynched by a mob. The Negro murdered Sheriff Joe Snow of Bazoria County. Taken from jail by mob of 300.

Oct. 4—*McClenny, Fla.:*
Four Negroes, Ray Field, Ben Givens, Sam Duncan and Milton Smith, arrested in connection with the murder of John H. White, a farmer, were taken from the county jail and lynched.

Oct. 14—*Greenville, Ala.:*

Select Reid, lynched by a mob near Greenville after an alleged attack on A. H. Arrington, Superintendent of the Southern Cotton Oil Company Plant. Reid is alleged to have struck Arrington with an iron pipe after he had been discharged by the Superintendent, who is alleged to have been injured fatally. A posse located the Negro in a swamp and his body when found bore a number of bullet wounds.

Nov. 2—*Ocoee, Fla.:*

July Perry, who shot and killed two men after he had been refused permission to vote (it was claimed he had not paid his poll tax), was lynched. He was hanged to a tree and his body riddled with bullets. Five (5) Negroes were burned to death as a result of the fight which started at the polls with Perry. The Negroes met death in houses in which they had congregated and which had been fired.

6—*Leon County, Fla.:*

The body of an unidentified Negro was found in the Ocklocnee River at Jackson Bluff bridge, 23 miles southwest of Tallahassee. A dispatch from Tallahassee says: "It is believed here that the Negro was the victim of an attack in Gadsden County, election day—that his body drifted over into the Leon County Line."

10—*Tylertown, Miss.:*

Ben Jacobs, brother of Harry Jacobs, lynched—with his brother, he was accused of attack on a white woman.

14—*Kent Junction, Tenn.:*

Dave Hunt, held for alleged assault on an aged woman, was taken from jail by a mob of about 75 men, and hanged to a bridge.

18—*Douglas, Ga.:*

Alex Byrd, Willie Ivory, Minnie Ivory, charged with killing Pearlie Harper, a white man, were taken from the sheriff and two deputies and lynched. A mob of about 150 demanded the Negroes and shot them.

23—*Tylertown, Mass.:*

Harry Jacobs, while on trial for an assault on a white woman, was taken from the courtroom and lynched by a mob which broke down two doors to reach him. Despite the efforts of court officials to prevent violence, a rope was placed about the Negro's neck and he was dragged two blocks through the main street, after which the rope was tied to the axle of an automobile which dragged him to a bridge, where the lifeless body was hung to the limb of a tree and riddled with bullets.

24—*Dewitt, Ga.:*

Curley McKelvey, brother of Ophelius McKelvey, who on November 23 shot and killed James E. Adams of Worth County, was

hanged to a tree and his body riddled with bullets. The Negro is believed to have been shot by one of the posses in search of his brother. Adams was killed in a quarrel with the three McKelvey brothers over the use of a road across the Adams plantation.

Nov. 29—*Princeton, Fla.:*
J. B. Harris, a nineteen-year-old Negro, was lynched by a mob near Princeton, following an alleged attack upon a white woman. He was identified by his victim and led into a nearby forest where, it was reported, the body was left hanging to a tree.

30—*Thomasville, Ga.:*
Unknown Negro accused of attacking a young white woman, lynched.

Dec. 5—*Holdenville, Okla.:*
An unidentified Negro, charged with an attack on a white woman 67 years old, was taken from the Hughes County jail at Holdenville by a mob of about 50 men and hanged to a telephone pole. His body was riddled with bullets.

8—*Billings, Mont.:*
E. F. Lampson (white), was burned to death in his cabin after a posse had set fire to it following an all-night rifle and revolver battle and numerous attempts to dynamite the house. An attempt was being made to arrest Lampson for suspected insanity

——*Doerun, Ga.:*
Unknown Negro lynched as result of labor troubles.

10—*Santa Rosa, Cal.:*
George Boyd, Terence Fitts and Charles Valento (white), accused of having murdered Sheriff James A. Petray of Sonomo County and Detective Miles Jackson and Lester M. Dorman on December 5, were taken from the county jail and hanged, by a mob of about 100 men.

23—*Fort Worth, Texas:*
Thomas W. Vickery, white, held on a charge of murder in connection with the killing of Policeman Jeff C. Cook, on December 20, was taken from the county jail and hanged by a mob. Shots were fired into the victim's body.

23—*Purvis, Miss.:*
Following the finding of the body of Coleman Brown, an aged Negro preacher, hanging from a tree and riddled with bullets, soon after his release on bond in connection with the murder of a 14-year-old Negro girl, Sheriff Williamson announced that it is believed that Negroes are responsible for the lynching.

26—*Jonesboro, Ark.:*
Wade Thomas, shot and killed a policeman in a raid on a dice game December 25. He was taken from jail by a mob of 400 and after being paraded through the business streets of the town, was hanged to a telegraph pole near the scene of the crime.

Summary

By States

Alabama	6 (1 white)
Arkansas	1
California	3 (white)
Florida	13
Georgia	8
Kansas	1
Kentucky	1
Minnesota	3
Mississippi	7
Missouri	1
Montana	1 (white)
North Carolina	2
Ohio	1*
Oklahoma	3 (1 white)
South Carolina	1
Tennessee	1
Texas	10 (1 white)
Virginia	1
West Virginia	1 (white)
Total	65

Manner of Lynching

Hanged	31
Shot	15
Burned	8
Drowned	2
Flogged to Death	1
Manner unknown	8
Total	65

Alleged Offenses

Murder	24
Assault on white woman (murderous)	2
Attack on white woman	15
Insulting white woman	3
Attempted attack on white woman	1
Attack on white boy	1
Stabbing white man	2
Assaulting white man	3

* On steamer plying between Duluth, Minn., and Toledo, Ohio.

Threatening to kill white man	1
Aiding escape of murderers	2
Jumping labor contract	1
Negro labor troubles (in riot)	1
Election day disturbance	6
Insanity (in attempt at arrest)	1
Connection with moonshine still	1
Offense unknown	1
Total	65

Lynching Prevented

It is gratifying to note the increasing number of instances in which officers of the law have striven to do their duty in protecting Negroes who have been arrested and are in their charge. In this way lynchings have been prevented as follows:

Alabama	2
Arkansas	1
Delaware	1
Georgia	2
Illinois	3
Indiana	2
Kansas	2
Kentucky	1
Maryland	1
Mississippi	3 (1 white)
Missouri	1
New Hampshire	1
North Carolina	15 (groups of 7, 3, 5)
Ohio	1
Oklahoma	1
South Carolina	1
Tennessee	2
West Virginia	1 (white)
Virginia	5

In most of these cases lynching has been prevented by spiriting the prisoner away from the community to another jail for safe keeping; while in others, officers of the law have pleaded with the mob to let the law take its course.

Kentucky.—The most notable instance of the prevention of lynching by a mob, during the year, occurred at Lexington, Kentucky, where the mob attempted to gain possession of Will Lockett,

a Negro, who had been tried and found guilty of assault on a white girl. When the mob tried to storm the jail four persons were killed by the Kentucky State militia who had mounted machine guns to sweep the approaches to the Court House. Prior to this, Lockett had been taken to Frankfort to the State Penitentiary for safe keeping. Governor Morrow, hearing that a mob was being formed, took charge of the Penitentiary. Ordering deputy sheriffs to guard all approaches to the Penitentiary, the Governor sent the Sheriff of Franklin County toward Lexington with instructions to prevent the mob's entering the State Capital. The mob in automobiles was met by the Sheriff on the outskirts of the city on a hill overlooking the prison. Placing his own automobile crosswise in the street the Sheriff persuaded the crowd to return to Lexington.

Lockett was sentenced to death.

North Carolina.—At Graham N. C., three Negroes were being held charged with an attack on a white woman. At the sign of mob violence, Governor Bickett gave orders to soldiers who had been called to the scene, to "shoot straight" if any attempt on the lives of the prisoners was made. In this affair, one man was killed and two others seriously injured, but the prisoners were defended from the mob.

Virginia.—On an attempt being made by a mob to storm the jail at Wise Courthouse, Va., the Roanoke Company of the National Guard was ordered to the scene. One man was killed and several wounded in the pitched battle which ensued.

V

CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION

Anti-Lynching Bills

Curtis Resolution and Dyer Bill.—The Association is keeping in close touch with the resolution introduced in the Senate by Senator Charles Curtis and the bill introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman L. C. Dyer, the former calling for an investigation by the Senate of lynching and mob violence and the latter making lynching a federal offense.

In January, representatives of the National Association attended a hearing on the Dyer Bill at Washington. Mr. Arthur B. Spingarn, Mr. Archibald H. Grimké, Mr. Neval H. Thomas, Prof. George William Cook and Mr. Johnson spoke in favor of the bill, and the members of the judiciary committee seemed deeply impressed with what the speakers had to say. This bill was not reported out of committee.

In May, Mr. Dyer introduced a new bill which overcame some of the objections raised at the hearing in January. This bill was favorably reported and placed on the House calendar. Final action by Congress was not taken before the close of this session, but on the reopening of Congress in December the National Office had assurances from Mr. Dyer that he would immediately become active in pushing the measure.

A hearing on the Curtis Resolution was also had in January at which appeared Mr. Shillady, Mr. Seligmann and the present Secretary. This hearing was before the sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Kentucky.—In March, Governor Edwin P. Morrow of Kentucky signed a bill providing for the punishment of lynchers and for the removal of the peace officer who surrenders his prisoner. The bill was signed in the presence of a committee of colored citizens headed by Dr. E. E. Underhill, President of the Frankfort Branch of the N.A.A.C.P., and makes the penalty for lynching death or life imprisonment, and the penalty for attempted lynching confinement in the penitentiary for not less than two years nor more than twenty-one years.

The fight to secure a lynching law in Kentucky began in the Legislature of 1918, when a bill was passed submitting to the people a constitutional amendment to make it possible to effect the automatic removal of any peace officer who permitted a mob to take possession of a prisoner in his custody. The bill submitting the amendment was championed by a committee of colored citizens, who succeeded in securing its passage without a single dissenting vote in either branch of the Legislature.

There has been only one lynching in Kentucky during 1920. This occurred just one week after the signing of the anti-lynching bill by Governor Morrow. Owing to the failure to include an emergency clause the bill did not become effective until 90 days after the adjournment of the Legislature.

Graham Sedition Bill

In January, Representative Graham of Pennsylvania introduced into the House a bill giving to the Department of Justice the right "to prohibit and punish seditious acts against the Government of the United States and to prohibit the use of the mails for the purpose of promoting such acts." A part of section 6 of the bill read: "that every book, magazine, newspaper, document, handbill, poster or written, pictorial or printed matter, memorandum, sign, symbol, or communication of any form * * * wherein and whereby an appeal is made to racial prejudice the intended or probable result of which appeal is to cause rioting * * * is hereby declared to be non-mailable, and the same shall not be deposited in any post office for mailing or be conveyed in the mails or delivered from any post office or by any letter carrier."

The National Office through its press service and through the branches gave publicity to this section of the bill showing that if passed it might be construed to suppress all Negro newspapers and Negro publications. The colored press was asked to use its influence to prevent the enactment of this measure.

On January 22, a hearing was had on the bill. The present Secretary appeared before the House Rules Committee and vigorously protested against the passage of the bill. After this hearing the bill was amended and on February 4 another hearing was had at which Mr. Grimké, President of the District of Columbia Branch, appeared.

The Bill was defeated in the House.

VI

THE KU KLUX KLAN

One of the most sinister signs of the likelihood of increased friction between the races in America which appeared during 1920, was the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. Under the leadership of William Joseph Simmons, "Imperial Wizard" of the Klan, the organization has been revived with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. It has announced that it stands "for the preservation of American ideals and institutions, the protection of the home, the chastity of womanhood, the maintenance of the blood-bought rights and liberties of the Anglo-Saxon race and for the separation of church and state." The Imperial Wizard has upon numerous occasions announced that the "Ku Klux Klan stands unreservedly for white supremacy in America." The organization is professedly Anti-Catholic, Anti-Semitic, Anti-Labor, Anti-Woman Suffrage and Anti-Negro. From its new beginning, the Klan has been vigorously opposed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People through mass meetings and publicity.

The first intimation of the purpose to organize the Klan in New York City came about as the result of an application made by an official of the N. A. A. C. P. for membership in the Klan in order to obtain the inside facts regarding the order. After considerable correspondence the National Office in this manner secured enough information regarding the Klan to give wide-spread publicity to it and to show its real purposes. The N. A. A. C. P. placed this evidence in the hands of the Federal Department of Justice at its New York headquarters and also in the hands of the District Attorney's office in the city of New York, the Police Commissioner, Mayor of New York City and the Governor of the state. As a result a controversy arose between the Imperial Wizard on the one side and Mayor Hylan and Assistant District Attorney Alfred J. Talley on the other. These two officials, together with the Department of Justice, announced that they would vigorously oppose the formation of a branch of the Klan in New York City.

In the South the Klan has been used to intimidate colored peo-

ple. In South Carolina and other states it has attempted to force Negroes into working at low wages as cotton pickers and house servants. For example, on October 16, 1920, a news item was published in several southern newspapers stating that—

> "White caps, 200 strong, with horses and riders clad in the Ku Klux Klan garb rode into Lake City (S. C.) Thursday night and, as a result, the cotton fields next day were thick with cotton pickers and the housewives of Lake City will have all the help they desire. Farmers now see a way out of the ruin which faces them by the deterioration of cotton turning blue in the fields for lack of pickers. . . ."

Another instance of the activities of the Klan was the intimidation and murder of colored voters in Orange county, Florida, on election day. The story of this affair which was investigated by the National Office is told in another chapter of this Report.

Representatives of the Association presented evidence regarding Ku Klux Klan activities when the Association's representatives appeared before the House Committee on the Census at the hearings held in Washington, on December 28 and 29, which hearings aroused nation-wide comment. Mass meetings to arouse public sentiment against the Ku Klux Klan and to expose to the country the hypocrisy of the claims to Americanism made by the Imperial Wizard were held by the various branches in all parts of the country.

A number of press stories showing the real purpose of the Klan were released from the National Office and received wide-spread circulation. Articles written with the same aim were prepared by members of the staff and appeared in leading newspapers and magazines.

As a result of the efforts of the N. A. A. C. P. the Ku Klux Klan announced through public speeches by the Imperial Wizard and through *The Searchlight*, which appears to be the Klan's official organ, that the N. A. A. C. P. was the bitterest opponent of the Klan. Another significant result of the Association's efforts is the wide-spread condemnation of the Klan by many influential newspapers, white and colored, of the North.

Particularly encouraging is the attitude of the orderly element of white people in the South. At first the Klan met with little opposition there. Soon after its organization however, a marked increase in lawlessness caused a realization of the fact that the propaganda of extra-legal organizations like the Ku Klux Klan could and would create serious friction between the races with a further disturbance of the labor supply in the South. At first only a few of the promi-

nent Southern newspapers dared denounce the Klan. As mob violence increased more of the Southern press strongly urged opposition to its spread. The Southern inter-racial committees, churches and finally the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Virginia, actively opposed further spread of the Klan and its propaganda.

VII

RACE RIOTS

Race clashes in which persons have been killed or seriously injured have occurred as follows:

	Killed	*Wounded*
Illinois		
Chicago	2 white, several colored;	1 white
Kansas		
Independence	1 " 1 colored;	3 "
Leavenworth		2 " 1 colored
Maryland		
Baltimore		2 " 2 "
North Carolina		
Fayetteville	1 "	3 "
Winston-Salem	1 " 2 "	1 " 1 "

Minor clashes have taken place in many other cities but the results have not been serious. There have been no such outbreaks as occurred in the summer of 1919.

VIII

CIVIL RIGHTS

In many states attempts have been made to amend civil rights bills so that they would be modelled after the New York Civil Rights Bill. The New York bill as amended comes very near being as good a civil rights law as can be obtained and it is one under which action at law can be maintained.

California.—An important decision has just been rendered in the District Court of Appeals at San Francisco in testing the validity of the California Civil Rights Act. This decision was in favor of Errol Jones, the suit being against the Kinema Theatre of Fresno.

On June 20, 1918, Mr. Jones, accompanied by a young woman companion, purchased tickets for orchestra seats in the theatre. On entering the theatre he was accosted by the head usher who attempted to direct him and his companion to a remote part of the theatre near the wall, at the same time calling his attention to a statement on the back of the ticket, "Admit one to such seat *as may be assigned by management.*"

When Mr. Jones insisted upon being seated in that part of the theatre for which he held tickets, the usher refused to seat him. He thereupon left the theatre, and being a minor, suit was entered by his father in the Superior Court of the State of California. The trial court awarded the complainant One Hundred Dollars, the minimum provided by the statute. The theatre immediately appealed the case. At this point the Fresno Branch of the Association entered the case, as Mr. Jones was unable to bear the cost of litigation in the higher courts.

Although the Fresno Branch had been organized only a few months prior to that time and had a limited membership and treasury, it assumed the responsibility of conducting the appeal. It called upon the other branches of the state for financial assistance, and the appeal met with hearty response. The Northern California Branch took the lead in raising funds for the defense, engaging E. Burton Ceruti, a member of the National Board of Directors, to handle the case in the higher court. When the case was re-argued

in the District Court of Appeals at San Francisco, by a unanimous decision the verdict of the lower court awarding damages to Mr. Jones was affirmed. In the words of Mr. Ceruti: "The kernel of this decision is the principle therein established which enlarges upon the legal definition of discrimination. In effect, it says that enforced segregation is, *per se*, a discrimination which is in violation of Civil Rights Statutes."

This decision will undoubtedly have a marked effect upon discrimination in the State of California, and tremendous credit goes to the Fresno Branch, the other California branches, and particularly to Mr. Ceruti, who served so ably in this important case.

Colorado.—After a fight of two years, the Colorado Springs Branch won a victory in the case of the Rev. W. L. Darius *vs.* a Greek bootblack. The Greek contended that a bootblack stand was a private business but the decision handed down by the State Supreme Court was that a bootblack stand is a place of public accommodation. The Colorado Springs Branch was assisted by the other branches of the state through a State Council of N. A. A. C. P. branches.

Connecticut.—The Connecticut branches are planning to have re-introduced in the Legislature in January, 1921, a civil rights bill. The bill which they plan to have passed will be a slight modification of the New York Civil Rights Bill. The branches of the state are cooperating with a number of civic organizations. This effort is a continuance of work done during the last session of the Legislature. A splendid showing was then made at the public hearing on the bill, and there was some very effective follow-up work, but the bill failed of passage.

Rhode Island.—The Providence Branch had a civil rights bill introduced at the last session of the Rhode Island General Assembly for the fourth time, but they have not yet been successful in securing a favorable report on the bill. The Branch is tireless in its efforts to have a just bill placed on the statute books of Rhode Island.

Wisconsin.—The Milwaukee Branch has been successful in winning a restaurant case brought under the Civil Rights Act.

IX

DISCRIMINATION CASES

Numerous cases of discrimination in restaurants, theatres, etc., have been dealt with by the local branches.

Employment

In the Post Office.—The National Office was successful in having reinstated in the New York Post Office a colored sub-clerk who was being kept out of his job merely on account of his color. The man had resigned from the post office to enter the Naval Service and upon his discharge made application for reinstatement according to a provision made by the post office that persons resigning to enter the military or naval service were to be re-employed in their former positions upon release from military or naval duty. After considerable correspondence with the postmaster in which it was insisted that the applicant be dealt with justly and in accordance with the post office's own provision for reinstatement, he was reinstated.

On Railroads.—Late in 1919, the attention of the National Office was called to an article which had recently appeared in the *Railroad Trainman* under the heading "Discrimination Against White Men," in which an order was quoted which provided that "When a vacancy occurs or new runs are created, the senior men will have choice of runs or vacancy, either as flagman, baggageman, brakeman, or switchman, *except that Negroes are not to be used as conductors, flagmen, baggagemen, or yard conductors. . . .*"

The Assistant Secretary, in company with representatives from the Colored Association of Railway Employees of Memphis, Tenn., and from the Louisville Branch of the Association, went to Washington and conferred with officials of the United States Railroad Administration. These officials insisted that this order was not put into effect for the purpose of discriminating against Negroes, but for the purpose of protecting those Negroes already employed in the railroad service, since there was determined effort to oust

the colored men. It was pointed out to the officials that there were actual cases where white men, serving as flagmen, who happened to be seniors of colored men in point of service, resigned from their duties as flagmen and displaced Negroes who held positions at the head ends of trains; that because of the provisions of this order, Negroes were not allowed to displace white men who were their juniors in point of service.

Since the Railroad Administration officials could not be made to see this rank discrimination, it was decided that the only chance of redress was to file a protest with the Board of Wages and Working Conditions of the Railroad Administration. This was done by the Colored Association of Railway Employees. The matter was placed before the Board in the light that colored men, though performing a higher grade of service in many cases, were merely receiving the wages of porters. The result was that colored men were granted an increase, before the railroads went back to private owners, amounting to $12,525 monthly and back pay increases amounting to over $125,000.

In Schools

Brooklyn High School.—Six colored girls, students at the Girls' High School, Brooklyn, were told that they would not be permitted to attend the promenade and dance to be given by their class at one of the hotels, the reason given being that "the hotel people did not want them in their ballroom; that a separate party would be arranged for them." It was reported that a class vote was taken and only one-third of the 155 girls voted not to attend the dance if the colored girls were invited. A committee of prominent colored men, headed by Dr. DuBois, called upon the Superintendent of Schools and the result was that the principal of the school was instructed that either the colored girls must be invited or the dance must be called off. All of the colored girls attended.

X

PUBLICITY

The Press

The newspapers are becoming an increasingly important instrument for placing the Association's activities before the people. During 1920, no less than 131 recorded press stories were sent out, not including a number of letters sent to editors in various cities, in behalf of anti-lynching legislation and other subjects which elicited editorial comment mentioning the Association.

The number of press releases, however, is not a measure of the work which has been accomplished through the press. The results are rather reflected in an increasing disposition to regard the National Office as a sort of authority on facts concerning race relations. New York's most important newspapers frequently telephone the National Office to inquire about race relations, riots, lynchings and other incidents.

The outstanding press successes of the year were:

1. An exposé of conditions in Haiti by the Secretary, first published in *The Nation* of New York.
2. The Congressional hearings at which the Association's representatives appeared to urge investigation of the disfranchisement of colored people in the South.
3. The hearings in Washington on proposed Anti-Lynching Legislation.
4. The Association's fight against the revived Ku Klux Klan.

The Atlanta Conference received more publicity than any previous conference the Association has held, the publicity work being in charge of Mr. Edward L. Bernays during the absence of the Director of Publicity. The Secretary's Haitian exposé, preceded by an article by Mr. Herbert J. Seligmann, entitled "The Conquest of Haiti," published in *The Nation,* aroused extensive controversy in the newspapers of this country. Every step in the Administration's attempt to whitewash its course was met by statements and letters issued from the National Office to the newspapers.

Thus, as a special instance, the New York *Times* on September 21st published in full the Association's statement challenging the reports of Admiral Knapp and General Lejeune, and the press of the country carried important extracts from it. Furthermore, the statements of Bainbridge Colby, then Secretary of State, asserting that all was tranquil in Haiti, were challenged by the Association, the challenge being widely published. Largely through the press publicity following the original exposé, the subject of Haiti was kept before the minds of the newspaper-reading public and was made an issue in the Presidential campaign. The national importance which the Haitian exposé assumed was reflected in the willingness of important newspapers like the New York *Times* to take statements from the National Association in reply to the pronouncements of the State and Navy Departments.

In connection with the nation-wide press reports which were published about the Congressional hearings at which the Association's representatives established the fact of disfranchisement of colored people in the South, must be mentioned the Assistant Secretary's investigation of the Election Day riots in Ocoee, Florida. Immediately upon his return from Florida, a front-page interview with him appeared in the New York *Evening Post* and was taken up by other newspapers, a version of his report being printed as well in *The New Republic.* This resulted in interviews with other newspapers and brought about a controversy between Assistant District Attorney Talley of New York and the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan.

Preparatory to the hearings in Washington on race riots and lynchings, the Director of Publicity prepared a brief on "Why Congress Should Investigate Race Riots and Lynching," which was presented at the hearings and was widely commented on in the newspapers.

The Association's press publicity has been especially effective in bringing to light the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, resulting not only in the controversy mentioned above between the Assistant District Attorney of New York and the Imperial Wizard, but in repeated attacks on the Association by the Klan. *The Searchlight,* published in Atlanta, apparently the organ of the Ku Klux Klan, has devoted as many as three editorials in one issue to attacking the policies and the personnel of the Association.

Among the individual press releases sent out to the newspapers

which were effective in achieving results or in provoking comment, were (1) a request for Federal troops to guard the Florida election, (2) an exposé of the methods used by the Ohio State Democratic Committee in appealing to race prejudice during the Presidential campaign, (3) a statement that Negroes were being denied the vote in North Carolina, (4) a demand upon Congress for Congressional reapportionment, and (5) a protest against resolutions passed by the Helena, Arkansas, Branch of the American Legion which asked that the Governor of Arkansas exercise no clemency toward the men convicted of participation in the Elaine riots.

Throughout the year an increasing friendliness has been evident on the part of a number of influential newspapers, the New York *Globe* in particular, publishing an editorial which was sent out to the entire press of the country by the National Office, in which the work of the Association received cordial endorsement and commendation. Editorial mention of the Association in connection with the Haitian exposé, the disfranchisement hearings and the Ku Klux Klan fight also occurred in a number of other important journals.

Material was also accumulated before, during and after the Presidential election for a pamphlet to be published in 1921 on the Disfranchisement of Colored Americans During the Election.

The Association desires especially to commend the cordial cooperation which it has received, with very few exceptions, from the editors of colored newspapers throughout the country. They have been a most important aid in acquainting colored Americans with the Association's work, and in quickly and effectively mobilizing public sentiment in behalf of the measures for which the Association has contended.

Field Work

During the year 1920, two hundred and ninety-seven (297) meetings have been addressed by national officers, as follows:

Mr. Pickens	163
Mr. White	60
Mr. Johnson	28
Miss Ovington	19
Dr. DuBois	21
Mr. Shillady	6

It has been estimated that 77,500 miles have been covered as follows:

Mr. White	23,000
Mr. Johnson	17,000
Mr. Pickens	16,000
Mr. Bagnall	12,000
Miss Ovington	6,000
Mr. Shillady	2,000
Miss Lealtad	1,500

Literature Distributed

During the year the following literature has been sent out from the National Office:

	Number of Pieces
Propaganda	164,692
Branch Organization	23,230
Lynching	10,567
Race Riots	4,695
Mob Violence	1,502
Labor	1,272
Annual Reports	4,590
Biographical Sketches (Executives)	207
The Branch Bulletin	35,000
The Crisis	749,000
Miscellaneous	8,233
Total	1,002,988

Special Articles Contributed by the Staff

Members of the staff have contributed articles to various publications as follows:

Miss Ovington

"Bogalusa" ..... *The Liberator*

Mr. Johnson

"Self-Determining Haiti" ..... *The Nation*

a. "The American Occupation."
b. "What the United States Has Accomplished."
c. "Government Of, By and For the National City Bank."
d. "The Haitian People."

(Reprinted for distribution by the N. A. A. C. P.)

"Haiti—A Blot on Americanism". . . *The Christian Herald*

Mr. Seligmann

"The Conquest of Haiti" ..... *The Nation*

In addition the following books have been published:

"The Shadow"..... Mary White Ovington
"Darkwater"..... W. E. B. DuBois
"The Negro Faces America"..... Herbert J. Seligmann

Report of the Director of Publications and Research of the N. A. A. C. P. and Editor of "The Crisis"

The cash income of the *The Crisis* for the year 1920 was $77,706.32 as compared with $70,502.92 in 1919. The total number of copies sold was 749,000, as compared with 1,138,900 in 1919.

The average monthly net-paid circulation of *The Crisis* for 1920 was 62,417 copies, as compared with 94,908 copies during 1919.

By calendar years the average monthly net-paid circulation of *The Crisis* has been as follows:

1910 (2 months)	1,750 copies
1911	9,000 "
1912	22,000 "
1913	27,000 "
1914	31,450 "
1915	32,156 "
1916	37,625 "
1917	41,289 "
1918	75,187 "
1919	94,908 "
1920	62,417 "

The total income of *The Crisis* since its inception, November 1910, has been $352,397.26.

The total net-paid circulation of *The Crisis* by years since November, 1910, has been 4,462,899 copies, as follows:

Year	Income (Round Numbers)	Circulation
1910 (2 months)	$375	3,500 copies
1911	6,572	108,000 "
1912	13,217	264,000 "
1913	19,739	336,000 "
1914	22,124	377,400 "
1915	23,865	385,872 "
1916	28,193	451,500 "
1917	32,836	495,477 "
1918	57,367	902,250 "
1919	70,502	1,138,900 "
1920	77,606	749,000 "

The past year, 1920, has been a year of great difficulty. Our costs of manufacture have mounted, as the following table will show:

General expense	116%
Postage	231%
Publishing (including typesetting, press work, paper, etc.)	191%
Salaries	124%
Stationery and supplies	76%

The new postal rates on periodicals have come into full effect this year, more than tripling our cost of mailing, and making our circulation in the far west and southwest a dead loss. Supplies of all sorts have increased in price and despite rigid economy have more than doubled our expenses. But worst of all has been the paper situation. We have paid in the last year $19,040.67 for the paper on which *The Crisis* is printed and only our first class credit and promptness in meeting our bills have enabled us many months to get any paper at any price. We have been compelled to hold down our agents rigidly to their lowest needs and did not dare to attempt any increase of circulation lest there should be no paper for printing.

A forecast of this situation compelled us after much hesitation and misgiving to increase our price last Christmas to 15 cents a copy and $1.50 a year. This compelled also a readjustment of our sales to agents: formerly agents made 100% on the sale of *The Crisis*—buying for 5 cents and selling for 10. The margin of profit was too narrow and now we sell for 9 cents and the agent makes 6 cents.

To these troubles was added the various printing strikes of last year which threw us out of our normal schedule for 12 months.

All these things combined have reduced our circulation over a third as compared with last year. This is a very serious loss, and must if possible be regained. On the other hand we are fortunate to have actually increased our income, paid all our large expenses and appear at the end of this year as last out of debt, and effectively organized.

Outside *The Crisis*, the activities of the Director this year have embraced 21 lectures in 8 states, 6 before white and the rest before colored and mixed audiences. His book, "Darkwater," appeared in the spring and is now in its third printing and being translated into French. The rest of his time has been put on his history of the Black World in the World War, which is approaching completion.

As Secretary of the Pan African Congress the Director with the consent and financial support of the Board has called a Second Congress to meet in Paris in 1921. Details of the arrangements for this important meeting will be given in *The Crisis*.

W. E. B. DuBois.

January 3, 1921.

XI

THE BRANCHES AND THEIR WORK

The year of 1920 has seen an increased expansion of branch work. There have been 85 new branches either organized or in process of organization, which will mean increased strength to the Association as a whole.

Legislation and Legal Defense

Connecticut branches, led by the New Haven Branch, have formulated and are endeavoring to have passed a civil rights bill similar to the New York Bill.

Providence, R. I., has indorsed a civil rights bill and has secured the support of the organized women voters to help put it through.

The Louisville, Ky., Branch defeated a "Million Dollar Bond Issue," which bonds were to be used to improve the University of Louisville, which does not admit colored students, while nothing was to be done for colored schools.

Pueblo, Colo., Branch has secured the placing of colored men for jury service.

The Sacramento Branch fought a case where discrimination was attempted in a bath-house owned by a Japanese.

The Toledo Branch won a suit against the Metropolitan Stores because of a refusal to serve colored persons in their cafeterias.

The Oklahoma City Branch received a favorable decision in a case of attempted segregation in residential districts.

The California branches fought to a successful conclusion the case of discrimination of Jones versus the Kinema Theatre.

Many cases of discrimination in restaurants, ice cream parlors, etc., were fought, complete victories being won in Columbus, Ohio, and Rockford, Ill.

Segregation in the University of Michigan Hospital dining room has been abolished as a result of the effort of the Ann Arbor Branch.

The Everett, Washington, Branch won the case in which a colored patient had been refused admission into the county sanitarium, finding that it was the head physician's personal prejudice.

An attempt to jim-crow colored passengers on the Michigan Central Railway between Detroit and Cincinnati was investigated by the Detroit Branch and was stopped.

The Oklahoma City Branch took up the case of a young colored man accused of killing a white merchant. After an investigation it was proved that the man was murdered by members of his own race.

The New York Branch sent a committee to Albany in behalf of Theodore Dixon, a young boy condemned to the chair. The same branch defended a 16-year-old boy charged with homicide. The latter was liberated and placed in a position where he could take care of himself.

The Lynchburg Branch carried the case of John Williams, indicted for the premeditated murder of two officers, to the state court of appeals.

The Toledo Branch instigated proceedings against the deck hands of a steamer who had deliberately drowned a Negro.

The St. Paul and Minneapolis Branches have been assisting in the defense of the men held in the Duluth cases for alleged assault on a white girl. They employed detectives to make an investigation and they also employed three lawyers to handle the cases.

The Chattanooga and Knoxville Branches have been handling the case of Maurice Mays indicted for the murder of a white woman.

The Camden Branch is making an effort to have several policemen convicted who entered the home of a colored man without a warrant and killed an innocent man.

The Chattanooga Branch succeeded in having a death sentence commuted to life imprisonment in the case of a Negro who was accused of implication in the murder of a white man.

The Washington, D. C., Branch secured a sentence for second degree murder in a case where a policeman had killed a Negro without due cause. He was, however, acquitted by the second jury.

The Oklahoma City Branch employed five lawyers to defend a colored man accused of murder, the sentence being life imprisonment instead of the death penalty.

The Huntington, W. Va., Branch prosecuted a white man for the murder of a colored boy. The first jury failed to agree; however, after the second trial the man was freed.

The Louisville Branch averted a riot in Highland Park, Ky., where white soldiers had been molesting colored girls. After the quick action of branch officers in taking the matter up with the

military authorities the soldiers were prohibited from going through that section and a double guard of military police was placed in the neighborhood.

The Negro Vote

A number of branches organized citizenship classes for the purpose of instructing the women in the use of the ballot.

The Oklahoma branches having been informed that the citizens at Boley and Okfuskee Co. were being denied the right of registering, employed an attorney to take the case before the proper tribunal. Boley succeeded in securing a registrar without taking legal steps, but the Oklahoma branches were thoroughly organized and were ready to take court action if necessary.

The Columbus, Ohio, Branch carried out a well organized campaign to combat the mean propaganda put out by Ohio Democrats, resulting in the registration of over 97,000 citizens.

The Vallejo Branch secured the appointment of a colored registrar, the first in the history of the County.

The Hamtramck Branch carried on a general registration campaign which resulted in an increase of 600 Negro registrants.

Ypsilanti Branch secured the election of 5 colored delegates to the County Republican Convention.

Miscellaneous

The Hamtramck Branch has prevented the production of the "Birth of a Nation" in that town.

The Riverside Branch blocked the showing of "The Clansman."

The Columbus, Ohio, Branch had a street car conductor prosecuted and fined for assaulting a colored man.

The Johnstown Branch placed a city policeman under $3,000 bail for insulting a colored citizen.

The Kansas City Branch secured a park and rest room in the Market Hall.

A conference of the Birmingham Branch with railroad officials resulted in a change of unsanitary conditions in the colored waiting room.

The Hartford, Conn., Branch investigated the conditions under which Southern women were working in tobacco factories and as a

result organized a union. They also started a recreation club for girls.

The Industrial Committee of the Kalamazoo Branch acts as an employment bureau for Negro labor.

The Muskegon Branch has made openings in several factories for colored men.

The programs for branch meetings this year have been decidedly more educational than ever before. Reports of programs of Negro music and Negro heroes and recitals given by colored artists have been coming in with frequency this year. A number of plays and pageants showing phases of the race problem, or depicting the work of the Association, have been presented by the branches. Copies of *The Crisis* have been placed in a number of public libraries.

It is not possible to report all the various cases handled by the local branches. Most of the branches have been making an aggressive fight along the color line and we are sure that during 1921 they will let no opportunity slip to help make possible the realization of the Association's program.

Branches Authorized During 1920

Name of City	Month of Application	Membership at Time of Application
California		
Imperial Valley	February	109
Fresno	March	60
Colorado		
Canon City	March	50
Boulder	December	50
Connecticut		
Bridgeport	February	55
New London	July	50
Florida		
Greensboro	September	50
Idaho		
Pocatello	September	50

Name of City	Month of Application	Membership at Time of Application
	ILLINOIS	
Clinton	June	50
	INDIANA	
French Lick	May	53
	IOWA	
Centerville	July	52
Council Bluffs	October	98
	KANSAS	
Leavenworth	February	225
Crawford County	April	87
Wichita	April	93
Garden City	May	60
	KENTUCKY	
Maysville	January	50
Georgetown	June	58
	LOUISIANA	
Ama	September	83
	MAINE	
Portland	April	62
Bangor	October	50
	MASSACHUSETTS	
Worcester	June	54
Holyoke	July	50
	MICHIGAN	
Niles	January	71
Ann Arbor	April	73
Oakland	June	76
	MINNESOTA	
Duluth	September	69
	NEW YORK	
Binghamton	February	54
Elmira	October	52
Brooklyn	December	80

Name of City	Month of Application	Membership at Time of Application
	OHIO	
Mansfield	February	57
Portsmouth	April	54
Lima	June	63
	OKLAHOMA	
Vian	May	63
Sand Creek	July	60
Chickasha	October	62
Eufaula	August	65
Foreman	December	56
	PENNSYLVANIA	
Monongahela	January	54
	NEW JERSEY	
Princeton	June	78
	TENNESSEE	
Jackson	February	50
	VIRGINIA	
City Point	February	61
	WASHINGTON	
Yakima	October	58
	WYOMING	
Casper	September	62
	CANADA	
Montreal	January	56

XII

THE ATLANTA CONFERENCE

The eleventh Annual Conference—greatest in many respects of the eleven annual meetings of the N. A. A. C. P.—was held at Atlanta, Georgia, May 30 to June 2, 1920. Much doubt was expressed prior to the Conference regarding the extent to which the truth might be told during the first annual session ever held in the South. That question was fully answered. Every speech, every testimonial, every conversation, was frank, straight-forward, spoken without fear and with a sincerity that was convincing. All seemed determined to make the Conference fully successful by stating the facts, facing them, and trying to devise solutions to the many problems involved. Two hundred and twenty-eight delegates and members registered, representing 92 branches and 29 states; there were many visitors from surrounding states, while the total attendance at the four mass meetings held on Sunday afternoon and on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday nights exceeded fifteen thousand persons. Many were turned away at every mass meeting, for the auditorium of Bethel A. M. E. Church, the largest that could be secured, was totally inadequate to accommodate the crowds that sought to attend each meeting.

Publicity.

Especially gratifying was the attitude of the press. Owing to the illness of our Publicity Director, the publicity for the Conference was handled by Edward L. Bernays of New York City, engaged especially for the Conference, assisted by Miss Doris K. Fleischman. More publicity was secured at this annual meeting than ever before. The proceedings of each day's session were published throughout the country and were reported with gratifying fullness and accuracy. Denunciations of lynching, disfranchisement, the "Jim-Crow" car, unequal educational opportunity for colored children, as well as frank discussion of remedies for these and other evils, were reported, most of them, as the speakers made them. There was little editorial comment on the Conference, however, by the Southern press.

Opening Session.

The Conference opened on Sunday afternoon, May 30, with Arthur B. Spingarn of New York, presiding. Mayor James L. Key of Atlanta spoke briefly, welcoming the Conference to the city. It had been hoped that Mr. Storey would be able to be present in person but due to a recent illness it was decided that it would be inadvisable to have him take the long journey South. He prepared, however, a paper on "The Legal Aspects of the Negro Question," which was read by Mr. Spingarn, in which he pointed out the dire consequences of further neglect of the Negro problem by America and by the South in particular.

The Rev. M. Ashby Jones, pastor of the Ponce de Leon Avenue Baptist Church (white) of Atlanta, made a plea for cooperation between the intelligent elements of both races. The keynote of the Conference was sounded by the Field Secretary, the last speaker, who declared that the five principal demands of the Association were: guaranty of safety of life by the abolition of lynching, through federal action, if necessary; the Negro's untrammeled right to the ballot upon the same terms as other citizens; the abolishment of "Jim-Crow" cars; equal educational and industrial opportunities; and the abolition of all forms of enforced segregation.

Monday

On Monday morning the committees on resolutions, time and place and one to act on the resignation of Mr. Shillady as secretary, were appointed. Delegates were then introduced and given an opportunity to state briefly the principal achievements of their branches since the 1919 Conference. This proved to be so instructive that it was continued during the afternoon session. Following this, a round table discussion of the problems of the branches with solutions found to be efficacious by certain branches, consumed the rest of the afternoon session.

This Monday evening session was given to the subject, "The Labor Problem and Migration," Harry E. Davis of Cleveland presiding. The causes and effects of the recent migration of large numbers of colored people northward were treated from the viewpoint of the North, of the South, and of the Negro. Mrs. Florence Kelley, secretary of the National Consumers' League, told of the far-reaching changes occurring among colored women workers, and urged that

through the development of cooperative movements the singleness of interests of the white and colored woman worker be emphasized for the betterment of the conditions of both. Eugene R. Black, president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, spoke briefly. The Atlanta Plan of Inter-Racial Cooperation was explained by Dr. Plato Durham, Dean of Emory University.

The last speaker at this meeting was the Rev. R. W. Bagnall of Detroit, who has made a careful study of the heavy migration of colored people to that city. Mr. Bagnall, after giving a brief historical sketch of the various migratory movements, declared that inter-racial conferences had been proposed with no success in the past, particularly in 1897, when a migratory movement was at its height. He stated that the colored population of Detroit had increased in three years from 8,000 to well over 35,000. Mr. Bagnall gave several concrete examples of the way in which colored men from the South were making good in northern industries. He declared that the only hope of the Negro lay in his continued migration to the North until the South was forced through economic necessity to grant his demands.

Tuesday

The Tuesday morning session was given over to a discussion of the handling of legal cases by the branches and to problems relating to the ballot.

Most picturesque of all the sessions was the presentation of the Spingarn Medal to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois on Tuesday afternoon on the campus of Atlanta University. The ceremony, with appropriate music, was held directly in front of Stone Hall, the ivy-covered building, green trees and grass making a beautiful and impressive background. Tributes were paid to the recipient by Dr. M. W. Adams, Acting President of Atlanta University; President John Hope of Morehouse College; and Miss Ovington. The presentation was made by Bishop John Hurst, Chairman of the Spingarn Medal Award Committee. The award was made to Dr. DuBois for his work in organizing the Pan-African Congress.

"Lynching and Segregation" was the subject for discussion on Tuesday night, at which meeting Mr. Joel E. Spingarn in his opening address proposed the formation in each of the Southern States, of a permanent race commission composed of five members of each race

who would be neither politicians nor demagogues but fearless and intelligent leaders, whose duty should be to investigate causes of friction, to make recommendations for legislative action, and to have all matters pertaining to race relations submitted for approval to such commissions before the Governor approves any such measures. Mr. Spingarn showed that no commission will ever be effective until its white members recognize the equality of its colored members and learn to welcome frankness instead of resenting it.

Charles Edward Russell, in attacking the lynching evil, showed that back of much of that practice lay the ignorance and illiteracy of the Southern States, and urged the formation of a United States Bureau of Education with a secretaryship in the Cabinet. The Rev. Peter James Bryant of Atlanta and William Pickens, Associate Field Secretary of the Association, were the other speakers. Mr. Pickens was especially effective in holding up to view the absurdities of race prejudice and in showing the dangers to America, if the lynching evil be allowed to go on unchecked.

Wednesday.

The Wednesday morning session was given over to a discussion of branch finances.

At the request of the Cleveland Conference the retiring Secretary, Mr. Shillady, had prepared a budget and method for raising the budget, which was presented to the Atlanta Conference. Each branch was assigned a quota based upon its former contribution and the colored population of its city, with other facts. These quotas included money sent in memberships and in contributions. They did not include money for special funds or for *The Crisis* and *Branch Bulletin* in subscriptions and sales. The ninety-two branches represented at the meeting accepted their quotas with few changes. All these quotas are published in the *Branch Bulletin* for June. The chairman, Miss Ovington, gave a careful explanation of the expenditures of the Association and of the increases attendant upon higher prices in printing, traveling, salaries, etc. The following resolution was proposed by Dr. Garrett of Houston, Texas, seconded at once by a number of delegates and carried unanimously: "That the Conference gives its unqualified endorsement to the able manner in which the finances of the National Office are handled."

It was agreed that the wisest way to raise the quota was to

bend all efforts on the membership drive in the first half of the year; then, if on July 1, the branch lacked its quota, to spend the next six months raising the money in whatever way seemed wisest, by lectures, entertainments or donations secured from public-spirited citizens; the branch holding to the chief aim that by the end of the year it should send to the National Office its amount pledged.

On Wednesday afternoon representatives from the Committee on Church Cooperation met representatives of the N. A. A. C. P. and the Atlanta Plan was discussed.

Atlanta, through the Christian Council of Evangelical Churches, carries on a social service work with five committees, Religious, Racial Relationship, Industrial, Economics, Civic and Women's Work. There are two church councils—one white and one colored—each complete in itself. The council is made up of a minister from each church and two laymen appointed by the congregation of each church. The colored council meets with the white council once a month, and minutes of other meetings are exchanged between the two groups. The advantage of the Atlanta Plan over the race committees that are growing throughout the South is that the Negroes are chosen by their own people, not by the whites. Work had already been accomplished in education and housing.

The closing session of the Conference on Wednesday night was on the important question of "Education and the Ballot". The speakers were Mrs. W. Spencer Murray of New York, the Rev. C. B. Wilmer of Atlanta and Dr. DuBois. The last speaker declared:

"It is the Negro question which is and must be the main question in every election in the South; it is and must be the main element in every social problem, and it must, particularly in the Negro's defenseless state, be an invitation to every lawless and reactionary element."

Dr. DuBois further declared that an entirely white world is impossible and showed that lynching flourished directly in proportion to the extent to which Negroes were disfranchised. He stated that a full and untrammeled freedom of the ballot was the Negro's greatest weapon and that there would be no solution of the race problem until the Negro voted.

At this session reports of the committes were read and adopted. Detroit was chosen as the location for the 1921 Conference. A resolution was read regretting the resignation of Mr. Shillady. The full report of the Resolutions Committee follows:

"Once more we call upon the nation to consider the grievous injustices and discriminations heaped upon its colored citizens and to hear their urgent demands.

"With lynching and mob violence, poor schools, 'Jim-Crow' methods of travel, unequal justice in courts and in things economic, with disfranchisement in many states, the colored people are called upon to bear their full share of responsibility and burdens of government.

"We demand such federal legislation as shall give the government at Washington adequate control of the investigation of and punishment for lynching.

"We denounce 'Jim-Crow' laws as being illegal, unconstitutional and contrary to the spirit of true American democracy.

"We call upon Congress to take such action as will abolish the 'Jim-Crow' car in interstate traffic.

"We demand the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States which guarantee to every citizen, regardless of race, creed, color or previous condition of servitude, the full and free exercise of the ballot and the enjoyment of all rights inherent therein.

"We demand that in the states where separate schools are maintained for the education of the races, the per capita expenditures for the education of colored children shall be equal to those for white children. We urge upon Congress such legislation as will give federal aid to common school training, with such provision as will insure each colored child its full proportionate share.

"It cannot be expected that leaders of colored people can forever hold out empty hope to their people and perpetually have them accept promise instead of performance. We warn America that the patience of colored people can find its limit."

The political parties of the country were also memorialized, embodying the demands for the ballot, anti-lynching legislation, educational and industrial opportunities and the ending of segregation and "Jim-Crowism."

The Conference ended with a deeper determination on the part of all the delegates and members to make a stronger and more determined fight than ever before to achieve the object for which the Association stands—for a complete and unquestioned share of freedom for all American citizens—regardless of color.

XIII

FINANCES

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

REVENUE AND EXPENSE

Year 1920

Expenses		Revenue	
Administrative Salaries....	$8,001.08	Memberships.....	$25,698.92
Field Work Salaries.....	6,574.96	Contributions.....	14,900.10
Publicity Salaries.....	700.00	Literature Sales.....	643.71
Clerical Salaries.....	11,994.94	Emblems (Profit).....	214.76
Printing.....	4,091.85		
Postage.....	3,403.90		$41,457.49
Traveling.....	3,100.53		
Rent.....	1,869.96		
General.....	1,455.97		
Meetings.....	1,065.25		
Advertising.....	895.29		
Misc. Legal Appropriations	846.85		
Branch Bulletin.....	738.98		
Telegrams.....	556.61		
Multigraphing.....	426.76		
Telephone.....	337.50		
Light.....	157.78		
Clippings.....	123.42		
Unpaid Expense Bills.....	1,934.61		
Depreciation on Furniture.	174.55	Loss.....	6,993.30
	$48,450.79		$48,450.79

BALANCE SHEET

Dec. 31, 1920

Assets			Liabilities		
Cash:			Sundry Accts. Payable.....		$1,934.61
Special Funds..	$1,854.77		*Crisis* Magazine.....		877.94
General.....	454.35		Special Reserves:		
Petty Cash Fund	100.00		Ark. Leg. Def'se.	$1,214.51	
		$2,409.12	Anti-Lynching.	556.10	
Advances.....		70.00	McLean Mem'l.	69.16	
Emblems (Inven.).....		769.30	Pan-Afr. Cong..	15.0	
Furniture.....		3,316.51			1,854.77
					$4,667.32
			Surplus.....		1,897.61
		$6,564.93			$6,564.93
Advances.....		70.00			

ARKANSAS LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

1920

Balance Dec. 31, 1919.....	$4,814.77	Expenditures:	
Receipts.....	3,889.13	Legal Services.....	$7,016.45
		Traveling.....	341.03
		Telegrams.....	118.40
		Meetings.....	13.51
			$7,489.39
		Bal. on hand Dec. 31, 1920..	1,214.51
	$8,703.90		$8,703.90

ANTI-LYNCHING FUND

1920

Balance Dec. 31, 1919.....		$2,843.53	Expenditures:	
Receipts:			Salaries.....	$1,060.00
Contributions..	$1,864.91		Chicago Race Riot.....	1,000.00
Interest.....	17.04		Printing.....	970.58
		1,881.95	Traveling.....	474.00
			Meetings.....	341.26
			Multigraphing.....	113.93
			Essay Prizes.....	100.00
			Advertising.....	60.86
			Telegrams.....	48.75
				$4,169.38
			Bal. on hand Dec. 31, 1920..	556.10
		$4,725.48		$4,725.48

XIV

PROGRAM FOR 1921

1. Anti-Lynching legislation by Congress.

2. Abolition of segregation in the Departments at Washington.

3. Enfranchisement of the Negro in the South or reduction of southern representation, if necessary.

4. Restoration of Haitian independence and reparation, as far as possible, for wrongs committed there by the American administration, through Congressional investigation of both military and civil acts of the American Occupation.

5. Presentation to the new President of a mammoth petition of say, 100,000 bona fide signers, collected by the various branches, requesting the pardon of the soldiers of the 24th Infantry imprisoned at Leavenworth on the charge of rioting at Houston, Texas.

6. The Abolition of Jim Crow Cars in interstate traffic.

7. Treatment of colored men in the Army and Navy: (*a*) In the Army, admission to artillery units, from which they are now excluded, promotion in the medical and other corps, and the elimination of other forms of discrimination; (*b*) In the Navy, obtaining ratings as non-commissioned officers once more, instead of their present enlistment only as mess-boys, that is, as servants.

8. Appointment of a National Inter-Racial Commission to make an earnest study of race conditions and race relations in the United States.

9. Appointment of colored assistant secretaries in the Departments of Labor and Agriculture which would give the Negro official representation in the two phases of national life where he needs most and suffers most.

10. Continuance of the fight in the Arkansas Cases.

11. The successful holding of the Second Pan-African Congress that the colored peoples of the world may gain a mutual understanding of their common problems.

12. The defeat by every legitimate means of the nefarious Ku Klux Klan, both South and North.

STAFF

On February 1 Mr. William Pickens, formerly Dean of Morgan College, Baltimore, Md., resigned from that institution and became Associate Field Secretary of the Association, and in July Miss Catherine D. Lealtad, formerly Student Secretary of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, was added to the staff as Assistant Director of Branches.

In April Mr. John R. Shillady resigned as Secretary and in August Mr. James Weldon Johnson, Field Secretary, was appointed Acting Secretary. At the regular meeting of the Board of Directors in November, Mr. Johnson was elected Secretary.

UNIVERSITY OF N.C. AT CHAPEL HILL
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